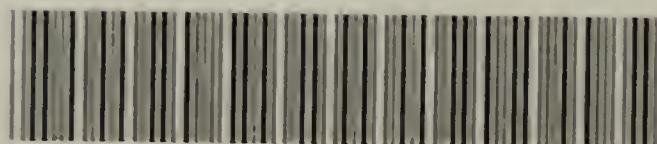


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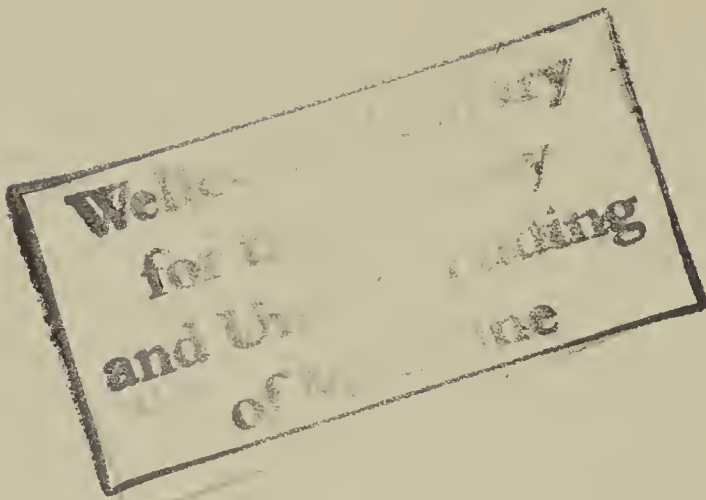


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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TEWA
OF NEW MEXICO

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

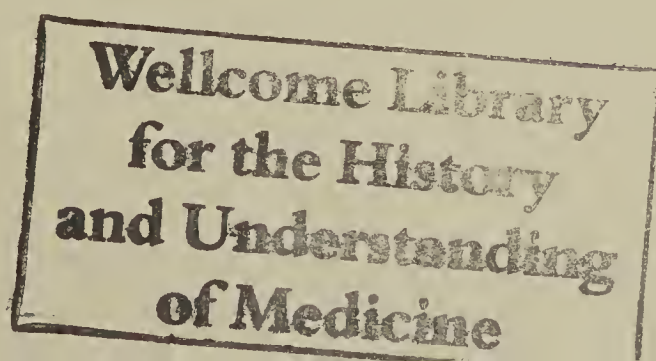


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PREFACE

Of all the more visited Pueblo peoples the Tewa have been the least systematically described. They have been visited by several anthropologists, notably by J. P. Harrington, M. C. Stevenson, H. J. Spinden, and B. Freire-Marreco. With the exception of *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians* by Harrington, *The Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians* by Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco, and *The Ethnozoology of the Tewa Indians*, by Henderson and Harrington, and studies of kinship terms by Harrington and Freire-Marreco, all monographs on highly specialized subjects, no records of investigation have been published. As no publication was in prospect and no material available even in manuscript, and as we had reached a point in our general survey of the social organization of the Pueblo Indians where more knowledge of the Tewa was indispensable for coordination and interpretation, I undertook in November, 1923, the unwelcome task of duplicating research among a people who are past masters in the art of defeating inquiry.

Imitating the secretiveness observed in all the Rio Grande pueblos, I settled in Alcalde, the Mexican town two or three miles north of San Juan, and, here, thanks to my helpful and understanding hosts of San Gabriel ranch, I secured informants from San Juan, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso. My informants worked singly or in couples, niece and uncle, sister and brother, mother and daughter, one interpreting for the other. The San Juan informants were by far the best, being intelligent and scrupulous,—the man the most accomplished teller of folktales I have met in any pueblo. Not merely was his memory excellent, but he was an artist, a great artist, with feeling for values, humorous and dramatic, yet using with fidelity as well as with resourcefulness the patterns of his narrative art and of

his daily life.¹ Information from San Ildefonso was least satisfactory. The women were particularly timid and not well informed; the man was a threefold liar, lying from secretiveness, from his sense of burlesque, and from sheer laziness. Curiously enough, this man, whose social position is of the best, but whose veracity is of the worst according to both white and Indian standards, has probably been hitherto one of our sources of authority on the Tewa.

After three visits at Alcalde, which proved a good base also for work further afield than the Tewa, in 1926 I moved to a ranch between Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, too near either pueblo for adventure by the townspeople, always apprehensive of spies. However, I was fortunate in obtaining at this time and again in 1927 some invaluable information from San Juan and Nambé, with sidelights on Tesuque, the most conservative and tight-bound of all the Tewa pueblos.

For the most part I have kept the data from each town particularized. This may seem overmeticulous, and further work among the Tewa will undoubtedly show that in many cases a general statement would have sufficed for what will prove to be a widespread or general practice. But at present, given the incompleteness of our knowledge and the unequal reliability of my informants, I do not mind erring on the side of the meticulous. Moreover, social organization, it is safe to say, will never be found to be quite the same in any two pueblos of any of the Pueblo tribes. The Pueblos offer an unusually interesting field for a study of the distribution of traits within the same general culture area, and this larger study is dependent on intensive studies from town to town, not merely from tribe to tribe.

Since I did not reside in any pueblo during my investigation, I will not undertake to give any general picture of town life. My short visits to the pueblos sufficed merely to check up in a general way on maps of houses and kivas and to give me impres-

¹ His tales have been published in *Tewa Tales* (Parsons, 4).

sions I could compare with the life in other pueblos in which I had lived. Of all the towns Tesuque has the look of being most self-contained, and such is its reputation among other townspeople. "Tesuque keeps all its old ways." It has the reserve of a western pueblo or of one of the less Americanized Keresan pueblos, say San Felipe. With Laguna, the most Americanized of the Keresan towns, one might compare Santa Clara. Like Laguna, Santa Clara has experienced a long standing feud² between progressive pro-Americans and conservative anti-Americans, in alignment being true to the outstanding pattern of Tewa social classification, the moiety pattern, Summer people against Winter people. Recently the Winter people have been electing their own governor; some time they may form one more Pueblo group to found a new town because of religious incompatibilities. Meanwhile, they are not washing their dirty linen in public,^{2a} a decency I exceedingly regret, since it leaves the history of the quarrel unrecorded. The short-haired, English-speaking young man I counted on as historian was one of the most tongue-tied Pueblos it has been my misfortune to meet. There had been recent deaths in his family, I learned later, which were attributed to having told some white person something.

The 1926 estimate³ of the Tewa population by the district superintendent totals 1189, distributed as follows:

San Juan ⁴	497
Santa Clara	354
San Ildefonso	102

² In 1883 the Indian agent reports that Santa Clara is very poor, "fighting always among itself." In 1890 another agent reports that the town is divided against itself, the cacique leading one faction, the governor, the other. "Some years ago the governor chastised the cacique, who, it is claimed, is a false cacique, and not appointed by legitimate methods." (Census, 83, 104).

^{2a} However literally they may so do. See pl. 8.

³ The estimate in 1895 was 1110 (Hodge, 346).

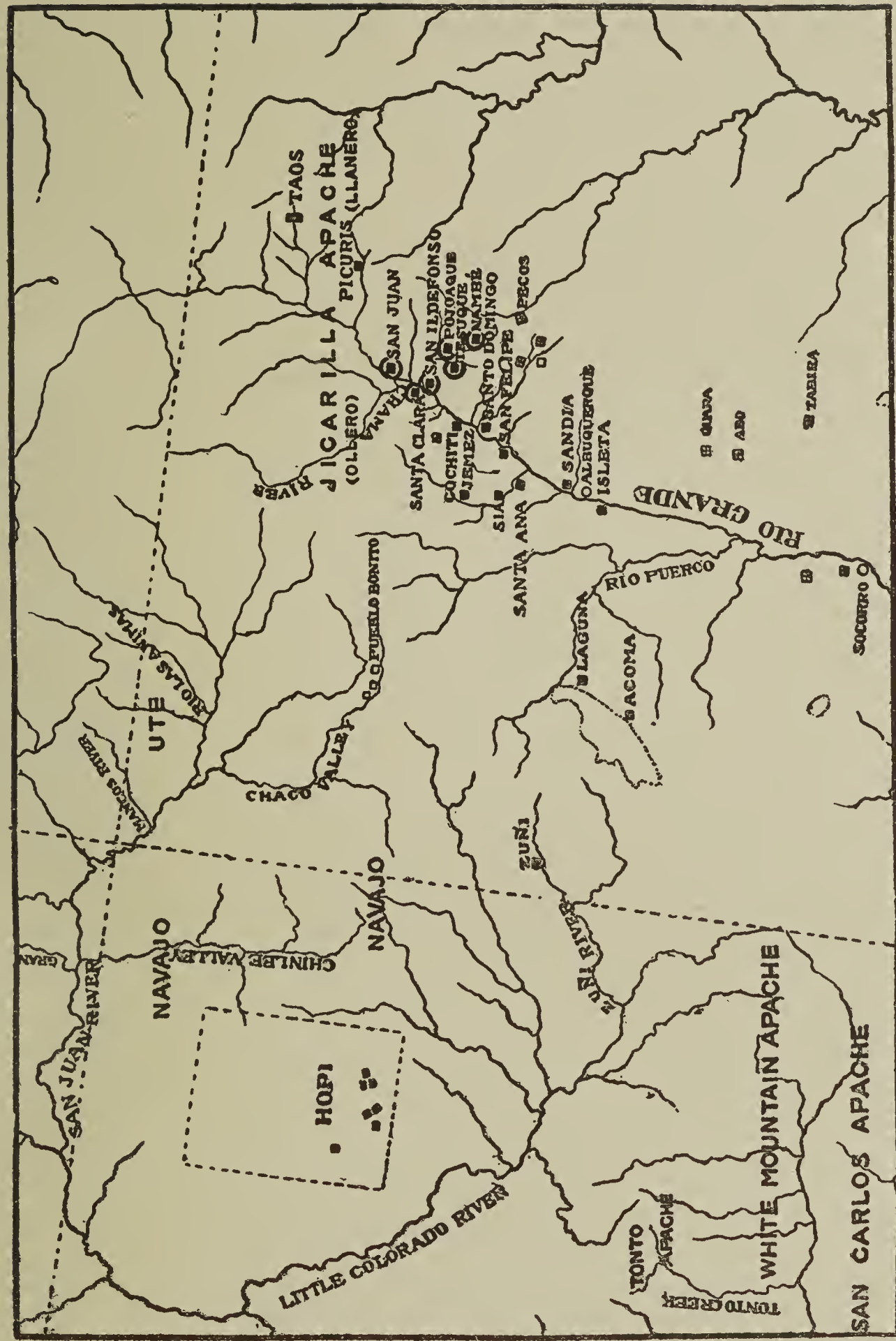
⁴ In 1890, 375 (Census, 102).

Nambé	122 ⁵
Tesuque	144 ⁶

⁵ Surely an exaggerated figure, which must be inclusive of Mexican neighbors. My Nambé informant estimated 55. In 1890, 79 (Census, 105).

A few descendants of immigrants from the extinct pueblo of Pojoaque live at Nambé. See pp. 57, 59. In 1890 there were living at Pojoaque five men, seven women, twenty children. (Census, 104). In 1909 Harrington found no Indians living there (Harrington, 2, 336).

⁶ In 1890, 91 (Census, 105).



Map 1. Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona.
The encircled are the Tewa pueblos.



Eagle dance.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TEWA OF NEW MEXICO

FAMILY

NAMING RITUAL: LISTS OF NAMES: VARIOUS PRACTICES IN NAMING

San Juan

THE mother lies in three days, on the fourth day she is up⁷ and the infant is named. The attendant aunts, maternal or paternal, give names—"the *kaiye* (mother's older sister, San Juan) or *ko'o* (mother's younger sister) will give a name, the *ki'i* (father's sister), too."⁸ One of these women, the *ki'i*, the *tsitsayiya* or navel mother who has cut the cord, will carry out the baby at sunrise. The mother goes, too.⁹ Both women turn around four times, in anti-sunwise circuit. Another woman, *kaiye* or *ko'o*, goes along, carrying a fire-stick and a broom. A circular sweep is made with the broom and then a cutting or slicing motion (*peri*, blow as the wind does) (this is exorcism for both mother and infant), and the fire-stick is cast away.¹⁰ The baby is then carried indoors and bathed all over by the navel mother, and she and each visiting kinswoman gives a name. In the bath water is placed fetich stone or shell,—*oga*, a cowrie shell; or *tinini*, an unidentified spiral-like shell, which I refer to elsewhere, I am not certain if correctly, as *olivella*;¹¹ or *tsiowénu ku*, lightning stone, i.e., an arrow or spear-

⁷ The day of birth is counted and the day of getting up. Were the birth on a Friday, the mother would get up on Monday.

⁸ Genealogy I, 5 was named by Genealogy I, 3, her father's sister; Genealogy I, 10, by Genealogy I, 3, his father's father's sister; Genealogy I, 30, 32, 36-9, by Genealogy I, 5, their father's sister; Genealogy I, 50, 51, by their father's mother (Gen. I, 5), likewise by their mother's mother who alone gave a name to the next child in the family, their father's mother having died. Genealogy I, 62, 63 were named by Genealogy I, 10, their mother's mother's brother's wife, and the same woman named Genealogy I, 59, her husband's sister's son's daughter.

⁹ Parsons, 7, 148 footnote.

¹⁰ Cf. Dumarest, 156.

¹¹ Cf. Henderson and Harrington, 66.

point;¹² or *kayé*, the fetichistic stone image of bear or mountain lion. The navel mother takes a mouthful of the water from an abalone shell and with the water still in her mouth breathes in along the corn ear. *Kylio hatsiperi* (*ky*, corn; *lio*(?); *ha*, heart; *tsiperi*, blow) the rite is called. Then the ear is waved in the six directions,¹³ and the navel mother ejects the water from her mouth into the mouth of the infant. This rite is repeated for the second ear of corn. Then the navel mother breathes out on the infant. The third woman in the sunrise group repeats the whole ritual. It is the navel mother who furnishes the bowl, the fetich stone, and the two ears of corn. . . . They thank the aunts, and give them stew and bread to take home. The two ears of corn used in naming are left on either side of the infant for ten or twelve days, "*kydio anyima*, corn taking care of baby." This corn, of which the ear is completely keneled,¹⁴ is planted the year following. Such completely keneled ears (*kykaye*^e) which are sacrosanct, are used so that the baby will grow up perfect like the corn ear.¹⁵

In case a member of the curing society (*pu'fona*) is called in for a difficult delivery, the infant is named by the *pu'fona* or doctor. According to one informant, every Tewa curing society has in its membership a midwife, who is regularly summoned at childbirth.

Within a week or two the infant is taken to church "for his Mexican name," by his *madrina* or *popoyiya* (wet-head mother) and his *padrino* (*popotara*, wet-head father). . . . The same persons continue to serve the family as godparents unless a godchild dies, then new godparents are necessary. Godparents are called *sa'kwiyo* (tobacco old woman) and *sa'sendo* (tobacco

¹² See pp. 250-251.

¹³ See p. 258.

¹⁴ See p. 249.

¹⁵ Cf. Parsons, 5, 86. According to Cushing (unpublished MS) an ear of corn, completely keneled, is left alongside the Zuñi boy baby, and a dark, flat, i.e., branching at the tip, ear, alongside the girl baby. Recently I saw a new-born boy baby at Zuñi lying on his hot sand bed, with an ear of white corn on either side. This is Hopi practice also. See Parsons, 6, 58.

old man), the reciprocals being *sa'kwiyo*e (female) and *sa'sendoe* (male).

Santa Clara

On the fourth day the baby is carried out early in the morning. The baby is given water from the mouth by the godmother, as at San Juan; but in the bath water no fetich shell is placed. The godmother supplies the bowl and the two ears of corn. The ears are left alongside the baby for four days, the grains being subsequently planted.

When an infant is given to a ceremonial group, before or after birth, he receives from the group head a name.¹⁶

Genealogy III, 82 was named by his father's sister, and Genealogy III, 88 was named by hers. Genealogy III, 80 was named by his mother's father's sister. Genealogy III, 54 was named by Timia Naranho (Gen. III, 38), her mother's father's sister's daughter. When the next child was born, Timia Naranho was absent, so the child was named by Genealogy III, 10, her mother's brother's wife. Genealogy III, 51, 52, were named also by Genealogy III, 10, their mother's brother's wife, and so was Genealogy III, 36. Genealogy III, 12 got one of her names from her father's brother's wife (Gen. III, 7), and another from her father's brother's daughter (Gen. III, 38). If an infant dies, the namegiver may be changed. For example, Genealogy III, 73, 73a were named by Genealogy III, 38, their father's sister. Genealogy III, 73a died, so the next children, Genealogy III, 74, 75, 76 were named by Genealogy III, 22, their father's mother's sister's daughter. Genealogy III, 76 died, and so when the next child was to be named, "we called another aunt," the child's father's father's brother's daughter. This child lived, but the next died, still for the next "we called the same aunt (*ki'i*), we couldn't find another."

Direct information about changing godmother after the death of a child was not recorded from San Juan; but certain

¹⁶ See pp. 113, 130.

cases of naming indicate the same practice. For example, Genealogy I, 58 was named, not by the maternal grandmother who had named his deceased brother, but by his father's mother's brother's wife (Gen. I, 10).

San Ildefonso

This practice of changing the family godmother after her godchild's death appears unfamiliar, as well as the practice of otherwise keeping to one godmother. There has been no death in the family of Genealogy IV, 7, but her four daughters were all named by different women, of whom but one was related, her mother's father's brother's wife. Possibly the reference here was to Catholic baptism. Genealogy IV, 19 was named also by a connection by marriage, referred to as his *ko'o*, in his grandparents' generation.

Nambé

A woman who has been lucky in childbearing¹⁷ is invited to cut the cord (navel mother) and give the name.¹⁸ The cord should be severed¹⁹ with the lucky yucca stick poker referred to as *pahte'enu*, Fire or Poker boy.²⁰ Such a poker may be kept in the family. The one Benina had received from her mother-in-law she has now handed on to her eldest married daughter.

Before sunrise on the fourth morning the navel mother returns to the house, bringing with her the two ears of corn and the bowl of medicine and shell dipper. Going outdoors with the mother and infant, this woman carries a fire coal held between two small sticks. Moving the coal in the four directions, beginning in the east, she casts the coal away to the east, calling the infant by name in the prayer she says to Fire flower woman (*pa'pobi kwiyo*). She prays also to the Dawn youths. Re-entering the house, she names the infant again with the two

¹⁷ Cf. Parsons, 14, 173.

¹⁸ But there are other considerations, I surmise. Genealogy V, 24 was named by his paternal grandmother and Genealogy V, 25 by her maternal grandmother.

¹⁹ At Tesuque a kindled cob is used.

²⁰ See pp. 236, 267, 286-287.

ears of corn, holding an ear in each hand and waving the ears four times in front of the child, in the same way as in Hopi naming ritual.

The ears of corn are to lie next to the baby for one month, not as at San Juan,²¹ until the baby can sit up, then to be set aside for planting.

The christening bowl that has been used for the first child in the family should be kept carefully. "Don't break it lest you all die," Benina will say to her daughters, referring to the bowl her eldest son was named by, and some years ago this somewhat impecunious townswoman had refused to sell this bowl to a museum collector.

If a child is born while any ceremonial group (*patowa*) is engaged in ceremonial, the newborn will be named by that group. (But the child is not thereby *given* to the group.) Mask dances are included for this practice²² and a mask may give his own name to the infant. Thus was named a man called Tsehpuma. Born the spring morning the Summer masked impersonations or kachina were to come, that night when Tsehpuma oxuwah (Cloud man or kachina) came to the kiva he told the *kossa*, the attendant clowns, to take medicine water to the house of the newborn and bless and name him. With their shell the *kossa* put water to the infant's lips. Very lucky was the child's mother. She was told that because her first-born was so named, none of her subsequent children would die. She bore nine children and none has died.

Benina of Nambé opined that a San Ildefonso man named Squirrel had received this name because he had been born during the arrival of the kachina who bring in squirrels, animals that can foretell the coming of rain or snow. *Pokawakwi*, the woman who makes the road for the kachina,²³ would have given the newborn his name.

²¹ Benina had noted this difference on a visit to her daughter, married into San Juan.

²² Cf. Parsons, 17, 191; Goldfrank, 1, 77.

²³ See pp. 167, 253-254.

LISTS OF NAMES

San Juan


Genealogy I

1. F. Po'kanotsawæ, Blue? *po'kano*, "places in sky, some blue, some white",²⁴ *tsqwæ*, blue.
5. F. G'uhpitsawæ, Blue red stone . . . *g'uhpi*, stone red;²⁵ *tsqwæ*, blue.
7. F. P'ayotsawe, Summer blue *p'ayo*, summer; *tsqwe*, blue.
8. M. Kūnye, Turquoise.
9. M. Okuwahpe'e, Cloud prayer-feather *okuwah*, cloud; *pe'e*, prayer-stick but applied to prayer-feather (see pp. 238, 242.)
10. F. Kwæpokwi, Rainpool *kwæ*, rain; *pokwi*, pool, lake.
11. M. Tanyip'i, Macaw mountain . . . *tanyi*, macaw; *p'i*, mountain.
12. F. Daningi, Unidentified bird
(but compare Gen. IV, 9).
13. F. Tapokwi, Sun lake²⁶ *tq*, sun; *pokwi*, lake.
14. M. Pi't'a, Petacio.
15. F. Kahtse, Yellow leaf *kah*, leaf; *tse*, yellow.
16. F. Sauwe, Zigzag.²⁷
17. M. Kāwnap'i, Rain on mountain . . *kwq*, rain; *na*, locative; *p'i*, mountain.
18. M. Po'tse, Fish-hawk *po'*, water; *tse*, eagle.
19. F. Kupokwe, Wet corn *ku*, corn; *po'kwe*, wet.
24. M. Agoyotsire, Star bird *agoyo*, star; *tsire*, bird.
25. F. Oxu'a powi, Cloud flower²⁸ . . . *oxu'a*, cloud; *powi*, flower.
26. F. Agoyosaawe, Star zigzag *agoyo*, star; *saawe*, zigzag.
27. M. Po'kano (see no. 1) "Dark as when going to rain."
28. M. Kayepe, Spirit prayer-feather . . *kaye*, spirit;²⁹ *pe*, stick, but meaning prayer-feather.

²⁴ Harrington was told the word meant a line or arch of clouds. (Harrington, 2, 56.) It was a personal name at San Ildefonso. Again, *pokano* means the game animals, and one hears that "whenever there is a cloud in the sky they say the *oxuwah* have *po'kano*."

²⁵ Unidentified pink stone, used in beads. The specimen shown me looked like pink quartz; it was certainly not coral, although the term is also no doubt applied to coral (cf. Henderson and Harrington, 68). It is the name of a Tewa clan. See p. 86.

²⁶ The sacred lake of the *kossa*. See pp. 30, 128, 226, and Pl. 17.

²⁷ Used for the design  or 

²⁸ Term for fluffy, cumulus cloud (Harrington, 2, 55).

²⁹ A generic term applied to spirit animals, stone shrines, etc. See p. 250.

29. F. Kætsepowi, Yellow meal flower. *kæ*, meal; *tse*, yellow; *powi*, flower.
30. M. Pa'pi, Jucca mountain *pa*, giant jucca; *pi*, mountain.
31. F. Yugepokwi? Leaky? medicine
bowl *yuge*, not tight; *pokwi*, lake, also
medicine bowl.³⁰
32. F. K'atsiretse, Yellow leaf bird. . . . *k'a*, leaf; *tsire*, bird; *tse*, yellow.
36. M. Kwæpeanye, Waving rabbit
prayer-feather; possibly, Flung
rabbit stick *kwæ*, rabbit; *pe*, stick, or prayer-
feather; *anye*, astir, moving,
waving.
37. M. Tamotse, Yellow dawn *ta*, day; *mo*, *mu* > *muwæ*, heat
lightning; *tse*, yellow.³¹
38. M. Apentsire, Vine bird *apen*, vine; *tsire*, bird.
39. F. Oyihe'tsqawæ, Blue ice *oyi*, ice; *he?*; *tsqawæ*, blue.
40. M. Owî, Duck
41. F. Tse'pokwi, Spruce lake *tse'*, spruce; *pokwi*, lake.
49. F. Anyotsawe, Blue girl *anyo*, girl; *tsawe*, blue.
50. M. Tamotsæ, White dawn *tamo*, "dawn"; *tsæ*, white.
51. F. Tamoyoapowi,³² Dawn flower. . *tamo*, "dawn"; (?) *yoa*³³; *powi*,
flower.
Pïoyegetsawæ, Blue frost moun-
tain *pi*, mountain; *oyege*, frost;³⁴ *tsqawæ*,
blue.
56. M. K'oset'a', Big marked stone. . . *k'ose*, big stone³⁵; *t'a'*, marked.
57. M. Kwæwi, Standing rain³⁶ *kwæ*, rain; *wi*, standing (term for
ceremonial race. See p. 234).
58. M. T'atininiænye, Sun olivella
shell astir *t'a*, sun; *tinini*, olivella shell; *ænye*,
moving.³⁷
59. F. G'uhpit'u, Red stone basket . . . *g'uhpi*, red stone; *t'u*, basket.

³⁰ Used in the sense of altar. See p. 253. Possibly the use of *pokwi* in Tewa female names corresponds to that of *wagi*, altar, in Jemez female names.

³¹ Harrington, 2, 60.

³² Her first name from her father's mother; her second, from her mother's mother.

³³ *Yoa*, Harrington gives as an augmentative. Benina of Nambé translated *yoa* as holy. See p. 265.

³⁴ See Harrington, 2, 54.

³⁵ See Harrington, 2, 199. The reference is to a stone woman in the Eastern mountains. (*Ku*, stone; *so'yo*, great.) This stone, according to Harrington, is a *kaye*.

³⁶ Said of rain seen in the distance. (Harrington, 2, 57.)

³⁷ The reference appears to be to the sound of moving water heard on holding the shell to the ear.

⁴² It is believed, as elsewhere, that the Cloud people live below lake or spring. See pp. 179, 226, 268.

16. M. Potsino, White shell⁴³
 19. M. Katsiretse, (see Gen. I, 32).
 20. M. Tadi, Book
 21. M. Woa'bi, Mountain dweller. . . . *woa'*, living on; *bi*, mountain.
 23. F. Tahke, Day after, (?) i.e., to-morrow.
 24. M. Tsigowenukwata, Lightning
 thunder. *tsigowenu*, lightning; *kwata*, thunder.
 25. M. Pu'tsæ, White jack-rabbit. . . . *pu'*, jack-rabbit; *tæ*, white.
 27. M. Pjntse, Yellow mountain. . . . *pi*, mountain; *tse*, yellow, referring to autumn coloring.
 30. F. Tamotsæ, (see Gen. I, 50).
 32. F. Che'ne, "Money is here."
 33. M. Gu't'a, Marked stone. *gu'*, stone; *t'a*, marked.
 34. F. Okuwatsauwe, Blue kachina. . . *okuwa*, Cloud being or kachina; *tsauwe*, blue.
 35. M. Agafetsire, Red-winged black-bird.
 37. M. K'atsinaohuwapeanye, Waving kachina Cloud being prayer-feather. *k'atsina*, kachina; *ohuwa*, Cloud being; *pe*, prayer-feather; *anye*, moving, i.e., waving.
 38. F. Kupowi, Corn flower. *ku*, corn; *powi*, flower.
 39. M. Payotsire, Summer bird. *payo*, summer; *tsire*, bird.
 40. F. Tse'powi, Spruce flower. *tse'*, spruce; *powi*, flower.
 41. F. Tætsepowi, Yellow sun-flower. . . *tq*, sun; *tse*, yellow; *powi*, flower.
 42. M. Oku'wata, Kachina drumming.
 46. M. Agoyotsæ,⁴⁴ White star⁴⁴. *agoyo*, star; *tsæ*, white.
 47. F. Odiowatse, Yellow prayer-stick. . *odiowa* is an obsolete word, referring to "something about a stick," i.e., prayer-stick; *tse*, yellow.
 48. F. Tætse, (see no. 2)
 49. M. Tqkwæritsæ, (see no. 1; but the inserted word or words *kwæri* were not explained. *tq*, clay; *kwæri* (? break, or Winter People⁴⁵); *tsæ*, white.
 51. F. Tæpowi, Sun flower. *tq*, sun; *powi*, flower.

⁴³ Large spiral univalve of which beads were made (Henderson and Harrington, 67).

⁴⁴ Referring to an actual star.

⁴⁵ See p. 90.

52. M. Pīt'unga, name of a "black hill near Nambé."
53. M. T'enat'a, Spotted bread. *t'ena*, the sweet bread which is made of wheat and corn flour mixed, the wheat sprouted, known at Jemez as kachina bread; *t'a*, marked.
54. F. Tsiwi', Wild animal.
55. F. Puganinitse, Yellow butterfly. . . *puganini*, butterfly; *tse*, yellow.
58. F. Pokwī, Lake.

Santa Clara

Genealogy III

1. M. Pæsing, Deer horn. *pæ*, deer; *sing*, horn.
2. F. Tanipobi, Macaw flower. *tani*, macaw; *pobi*, flower.
3. M. Pingsawe, Mountain zigzag. . . *ping*, mountain; *sawe*, zigzag.
4. F. Behpobi, Fruit-tree flower. . . . *beh*, fruit-tree; *pobi*, flower.
5. F. Tse'tsawe, Blue spruce. *tse'*, spruce; *tsawe*, blue.
7. F. Nanaoyegi, Aspen frost. *nana*, cottonwood; *oyegi*, frost.
8. M. Tse'k'a, Spruce cone. *tse'*, spruce; *k'a*, cone (?).
9. M. Oxuwat'a, Painted kachina. . . *oxuwa*, Cloud being or kachina; *t'a*, marked or painted.
10. F. Payopobi, Summer flower. . . . *payo*, summer; *pobi*, flower.
11. M. Pingpe, Mountain prayer-stick⁴⁶. *ping*, mountain; *pe*, stick or prayer-stick or feather.
12. F. Owisawe, chapparal cock zigzag. . *owi*, chapparal cock; *sawe*, zigzag.
Tschwængsawe,⁴⁷ Eagle tail-feather zigzag. *tseh*, eagle; *wæng*, tail-feather; *sawe*, zigzag.
- Kotse',⁴⁸ Yellow tassel. *kæ*, tassel; *tse'*, yellow.
13. F. Powitsauwe, Blue flower. *powi*, flower; *tsauwe*, blue.
14. M. Nanatsire, Cottonwood bird. . . *nana*, cottonwood; *tsire*, bird.
16. F. Tanyitsauwe, Blue macaw. . . . *tanyi*, macaw; *tsauwe*, blue.
19. M. Pingtse', Yellow mountain. . . *ping*, mountain; *tse'*, yellow.
21. F. Nanaoyegi, (see no. 7).
22. F. Kutsawe, Corn zigzag. *kæ*, corn; *tsawe*, zigzag.
24. F. Piyotsawe, Woodpecker zigzag. *piyo*, woodpecker; *tsawe*, zigzag.
36. M. Owitsaæ, white altar. *owi*, ground or sand altar; *tsæ*, white.

⁴⁶ See p. 242.⁴⁷ Given by father's brother's wife. Possibly the name refers to Eagle tail kachina.⁴⁸ Given by father's brother's daughter.



Ramos Archuleta of San Juan

38. F. Ts'et'a, large white bivalve.⁴⁹
39. M. Nanaping, Cottonwood
mountain..... *nana*, cottonwood; *ping*, mountain.
40. M. Tsehwætsæ, White eagle
tail-feather..... *tseh*, eagle; *wæ*, tail-feather; *tsæ*,
white.
41. M. T'amuping, Dawn mountain.. *t'amu*, "dawn"; *ping*, mountain.
44. F. Tse'tsawe (see no. 5).
45. F. Pokwitsawe, Blue lake..... *pokwi*, lake; *tsawe*, blue.
47. M. Pingtsæ, White mountain..... *ping*, mountain; *tsæ*, white.
50. F. Po'ti, Spreading water (?)..... *po'*, water, *t_i*, ? spread.
51. M. Pokwitsæ, White lake..... *pokwi*, lake; *tsæ*, white.
54. F. Tsew'ætsawi (see no. 12).
55. F. Ojika, Ice leaf..... *oji*, ice; *ka*, leaf, i.e., leaf traced in
frost, e.g., on window pane.
56. M. Tse'anye, Spruce aquiver..... *tse'*, spruce; *anye*, moving, astir,
aquiver.
58. F. K'unyæpobi, Turquoise flower. *k'unyæ*, turquoise; *pobi*, flower.
59. F. G'uhpi pobi, Red stone flower.. *g'uhpi*, red stone; *pobi*, flower.
60. M. Ka^aé, Little leaf..... *ka^a*, leaf; *é*, little.
61. F. Tse'tsawi, Spruce zigzag..... *tse'* spruce; *tsawi*, zigzag.
63. F. Kapobi, Leaf flower..... *ka*, leaf; *pobi*, flower.
65. F. K'otse', Corn tassel..... *k'o*, corn, *tse'*, yellow, i.e., tassel.
69. M. Pohtsæ, Snow white..... *poh*, snow; *tsæ*, white.
71. F. Katsauwa, Blue leaf..... *ka*, leaf; *tsauwa*, blue.
72. F. T'at'u, Sun basket..... *t'a*, sun; *t'u*, basket.
73. M. Ohuwaapi'ⁱ, Red bow ka-
china⁵⁰..... *ohuwa*, Cloud being or kachina; *a*,
bow; *pi'ⁱ*, red.
74. F. Tsitsæ, White arrowpoint..... *tsi*, arrowpoint; *tsæ*, white.
75. M. Sa'bah' (?).
77. M. Tehoku, Cottonwood plumule. *teh*, cottonwood; *oku*, fluff.
80. M. Sempeoku, ? prayer-feather
fluff or down..... (?) *seh*, bluejay; *pe*, prayer-feather;
oku, down.
82. M. T'otse', Yellow piñon⁵¹..... *t'o*, piñon; *tse'*, yellow.
84. F. Katsauwe, Blue leaf..... *ka*, leaf, *tsauwe*, blue.
86. M. Ogatsæ, White cowrie shell... *oga*, cowrie; *tsæ*, white.
87. F. Sehtsauwa, Blue jay..... *seh*, blue jay; *tsauwa*, blue.

⁴⁹ Harrington, 2, 44; Henderson and Harrington, 67. Worn as gorget. See pl. 1.

⁵⁰ See pp. 140-141, 159-160, 268.

⁵¹ At the time of naming the piñon nuts were abundant, and so the name-giver made up this name.

88. F. Kohetsauwa, Blue humming-bird *kohe*, humming-bird; *tsauwa*, blue.
89. F. Oxuwawin, Standing clouds⁵² . . . *oxuwa*, clouds; *win*, standing.
91. F. Pimpetsawe, Mountain prayer-stick zigzag *ping*, mountain; *pe*, stick or prayer-stick; *tsawe*, zigzag.
Akopobi, Outer flower *ako*, all the outside world, i.e., outside the pueblo; *pobi*, flower.
92. F. K'unæ, Turquoise.
93. F. Tse'ts'a, Yellow clay *tse'*, yellow; *ts'a*, plaster (used at base of interior house walls).
94. M. Tøpe, White clay prayer-stick⁵³ *tø*, white clay; *pe*, prayer-stick or feather.

Genealogy IV

1. F. Tsihipi, Red arrowpoint *tsih*, arrowpoint; *pi*, red.
2. M. Teteeyi, Grandfather abalone . . *tete*, grandfather; *eyi*, abalone.
- 2a. F. Yahpæ, Mother deer *jiya*, mother; *pæ*, deer.
3. M. G'owie, Chipmunk.⁵⁴
4. F. Po, Water.
5. M. Poyegi, Hoar frost.
6. F. T'atasawe, Painted sun zigzag *t'q*, sun; *ta*, mark, painting; *sawe*, zigzag.
7. F. Sayopowi, Cactus flower *sayo*, cactus; *powi*, flower.
8. M. Potsire, Water bird *po*, water; *tsire*, bird (? snipe).
9. F. Dayinge (?) Turkey down.
10. M. Ina, ?, Sand.
11. F. Herepo(wi), Pine flower *here*, pine (Mex. *pinaweta*); *powi*, flower.
12. M. Tseokuwah, Spruce kachina⁵⁵ . *tse*, spruce; *okuwah*, kachina.
13. M. Teteeyi (see no. 2).
14. M. Pæw'æ, Deer rain *pæ*, deer; *w'æ*, rain.
15. F. Pimpo, Mountain water *pi*, mountain; *po*, water.
16. F. T'akapowi, Sun petal *t'q*, sun; *ka*, leaf, *powi*, flower.
17. F. Kate, Leaf dwelling⁵⁶ *ka*, leaf; *te*, dwelling place.

⁵² Perhaps referring to stratus cloud (Harrington, 2, 55).

⁵³ See pp. 20, 21, 125, 148.

⁵⁴ Henderson and Harrington, 22.

⁵⁵ A whipper kachina at San Juan. See pp. 151, 154.

⁵⁶ Possibly a reference to *kate'pokwinge*, leaf dwelling-place lake, a home of the kachina. See pp. 130, 179, 269.

18. F. Sehga, Hopi blanket, white,
with red and blue border.

19. M. T'atapi, Sun mark mountain⁵⁷.....*t'q*, sun; *ta*, mark; *pi*, mountain.

San Ildefonso⁵⁸

Male

Tanyipin, Macaw mountain.
K'ara,⁶⁰ Very small black bird,
white throat, white in tail.
Popin, Water mountain.
Powipin, Flower mountain.⁶²
Oku, Turtle shell.
Tsehpín, Eagle mountain.⁶³
Tsihpín, Arrowpoint mountain.
K'unyope, Turquoise stick (prayer-
stick).
Tamuyowa, Dawn (?).⁶⁵
Opa, Sky.⁶⁶

Tampi, East. [Tewa, Sunrise]
Tse'a, Badger.
Agoyopin, Star mountain.
Kenyo, Big mountain-lion.
Kudo.

Female

Tsehta, White shell⁵⁹
T'utsauwa, Blue basket.
Kae, Little leaf.
Toyo, Basket weave.⁶¹
Pimpetsauwa, Blue - mountain
prayer-feather.
Katege, Leaf up.⁶⁴
Pokwi, Lake.
Kaye pokwi, Spirit lake.
Afe, Calico.
K'opokwi, Buffalo lake.
Katse, Yellow leaf.
Pintse, Yellow mountain.
Voyo.
Hutse, Yellow cedar.
G'uhpitsawe, Red stone zigzag.
Katsire, Leaf bird.⁶⁷
Okuwasawe, Cloud zigzag.

⁵⁷ A mountain to the north of San Ildefonso. Possibly a point of solstice observation.

⁵⁸ Taken from genealogical data which were given too uncertainly to construct a table.

⁵⁹ See pp. 86, 154.

⁶⁰ Cf. Henderson and Harrington, 45.

⁶¹ *Tungyo* (Black Mesa) after Harrington (2, 293) who says the name merely happens to sound like the name of the Black Mesa. The woman's Mexican name is Terecita Martinez.

⁶² See Harrington, 2, 299, 347.

⁶³ See Harrington, 2, 517. "For some reason this mountain (about three miles south of Jemez) seems to be peculiarly well known to the Tewa." Probably, I suggest, because of the shrine on top of it.

⁶⁴ But compare Genealogy IV, 17.

⁶⁵ Harrington, 2, 67. See p. 19 n. 33.

⁶⁶ World. (Harrington, 2, 41).

⁶⁷ See Harrington, 2, 43.

Tanyitsire, Macaw bird.	Eyi, Abalone shell.
Kaw'ewi, Leaf kick-stick.	Tetsetse, A large orange-colored bird. ⁶⁹
Pimpeta, ⁶⁸ Painted mountain prayer-stick.	Tutsauwe, Blue basket.
Tsekq, (?) Eagle corn.	Wækatsauwe, Blue pine.
Pota, Painted squash.	Sayopowi, Cactus flower.
Tanyisawe, Macaw zigzag.	Pætse, Yellow deer.
Kwió, Ditch.	Yanka, Willow leaf.
Ta'e, Small figure.	K'otse, Yellow buffalo.
Akqtsire, Outside bird.	Agoyosawe, Star zigzag.
Koheta, Painted humming-bird.	Tapowi, Sun flower.
Tuyop'in, The Black Mesa.	Tsiguwenupokwi, Lightning lake. ⁷²
Tsikomó, Santa Clara peak, a sacred mountain. ⁷⁰	Kotse, Corn yellow, i.e., tassel.
Wiyo, Great gap. ⁷¹	Ko'oyegi, Buffalo frost. ⁷³
Potsæ, Snow white.	Kayepokwi, Spirit lake.
Pu'e, Jack rabbit.	Kanotse, Lion man. (See Emergence myth, pp. 143-4—133, 274.
Téyere, Cottonwoods.	T'abi (? tampi), Sun turns around, i.e., solstice.
K'unæta, Turquoise painting.	Powi, Flower.
Taping, Elk mountain.	Powitsauwa, Blue flower.
Tenyo, Pine.	Nanapowi, Cottonwood flower.
Waiyemo, Tewa for <i>wenima</i> , Keresan term for the place of the dead. ⁷⁴	Awase, ? <i>Awa</i> , Mex. <i>agua</i> , water; <i>seh</i> , man, Mex. <i>aguazil</i> .
Kwæe, Little rain, i.e., drizzle.	Po'ose, green.
Wæpi, Red tail. ⁷⁵	Kua.
Powi, Flower.	T'ate, Sun painting.
Agoyo, Star. ⁷⁶	Ka'e, Leaf little.
Okuwape, Kachina prayer-feather.	Katse, Leaf yellow.
Kwatsire, (?) Rain bird.	K'unæ, Turquoise.
Tsæ, Cactus.	Powika, Flower leaf, i. e., petal.
Powotse, Yellow rattle.	Wew'e.
Nanatsire, Aspen bird.	Maw'ela, Mountain near Taos.

⁶⁸ Said to be the name of a mountain to the north.

⁶⁹ Cf. Henderson and Harrington, 46.

⁷⁰ *Tsi*, flaking stone obsidian; *kumu*, to cover. (Harrington, 2, 44).

⁷¹ Harrington, 2, 47.

⁷² Perhaps a reference to Agachenepokwinge, where Lightning lives. See p. 269.

⁷³ "The buffalo (i.e., buffalo dance) bring rain or snow." (Taos) See p. 204.

⁷⁴ Cf. Harrington, 2, 51.

⁷⁵ Henderson and Harrington, 36.

⁷⁶ *Agoyo'q'nyæ*, star shaking (twinkling), is given (Harrington, 2, 345) as the name of Juan B. Gonzalez.

Okuwahmona, Mixed kachina.	Go'ota.
Waching.	Moya, Bean-like.
Tæ.	Tsa, Sinew.
Kaye, Spirit.	
Tae, ? Little elk.	
Ye, Weasel.	
Wape, Wind prayer-feather.	
Powose.	
Tseyima, Spruce fallen.	
Koka, Corn leaf.	
Teetse, Cottonwood eagle.	
Tsaba.	
Tsihawanu, Lightning (<i>tsiguwenu</i>)	
Kehpi, Bear mountain. ⁷⁷	
Wiri, Orion's belt.	
Tsihowæ.	
Payotsiri, Summer bird.	
Ohano. ^o	
Awa, Cattail. ⁷⁸	
Popu'ma, Water look.	
Tamotse, Dawn yellow.	

Tesuque^{78a}

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Posetsire, Dew bird	Kayépokwi, Spirit lake
Nanakah, Poplar leaf	Puwæsauwe, Mirror zigzag
Mimitaa, Spotted butterfly ^{78b}	K'upi, Red stone
Tapiya ^a , Red grass	Kunyæpewi, Turquoise stick
Tamutsire, Dawn bird	Tsehtapepowi, Spotted eagle prayer-feather flower
Wiyopi, Great gap mountain ^{78c}	Payots'a, New year
Payotsire, Summer bird	Pitii (?)
Muet'ee, Sheet lightning kiva	Popokwi, Snow lake
Powiyuge, Flower (?)	Tamuyei, Dawn hoar frost
Tamuyowa, Dawn ^{78d} (?)	Tampokwi, Sun lake
Oxuwahpobipi, Cloud red flower	Pehpepowi, Prayer-stick flower
Kupowi, Corn flower	Okuojé'i, Turtle, hoar frost

⁷⁷ To the north. San Antonio peak, northwest of Taos, a sacred mountain. (Harrington, 2, 44).

⁷⁸ See below, n. 80.

^{78a} Given merely as a list of personal names.

^{78b} From *pulamimi*, butterfly.

^{78c} See Harrington, 2, 344.

^{78d} See p. 25.

Tapi, Grass mountain
 Tsewétaa, Spotted eagle tail
 Tsepe, Eagle prayer-stick or feather
 Agoyotsire, Star bird

Kæpokwi, Mountain lion lake
 Kahware, Leaf all gone
 Ojeits'a, Fresh hoar frost
 Kusepowi, Stone flower^{78e}
 Okuwatsauwe, Blue kachina
 Okuwapepowi, Kachina prayer-
 feather flower

<i>Male</i>	Nambe ⁷⁹	<i>Female</i>
Awipi, High mountain ⁸⁰		Payosawi, Summer zigzag.
Ko'ping, Buffalo mountain.		Payopobi, Summer flower.
Po'ping, Snow mountain.		Bepobi, Fruit-tree flower.
Pow'ebe, Sun kick-stick.		Apobi, Vine flower.
Muaping, Dawn ⁸¹ mountain.		Kwaapobi, Bead's flower.
Muaanye, Dawn ⁸¹ astir.		Eyipobi, Abalone flower.
Tsehkahanye, Spruce leaf waving.		Pobitsa, Flower new.
Kahanye, Leaf waving.		O'xuwapobi, Kachina flower.
Kahwipi, Leaf gap mountain.		O'xuwahoye, Kachina hoar frost.
Pokah, Water leaf.		O'xuwat'u, Kachina basket.
Taanye, Sun moving.		Tanpi, Sun comes out (?) turns, i.e., solstice.
Tapetsæ, Sun prayer-feather white.		
T'upe, Clay stick or prayer-feather.		Tatu, Sun basket.
Agoyope, Star prayer-feather.		Sahpahtu, (?) Frost basket.
Tse'pe, Eagle prayer-feather.		K'upit'u, Red stone basket.
Hopeanye, Corn prayer-feather waving.		Tsiguwenutu, Lightning basket.
Kutsæ, Corn white.		Tsiguenumuahét'u, Lightning sheet lightning coming basket.
Oxuwa'tsæ, Cloud white.		Tamuoyege, Dawn frost.
Kwatsæ, Rain white.		Yatseh, Willow yellow.
Pahpobitsæ, Yucca flower white.		Poyetseh, October yellow.
Tseape, Eagle, white deposit, ⁸² mountain.		Powatsey, Look yellow.
Tsehpuma, ⁸³ Eagle ? look.		Ohuwa'tsey, Cloud yellow.
Sohuwatse, Mist eagle. ⁸⁴		Tanitsey, Parrot yellow.
Sohuwatsæ, Mist white.		Kahpitsawa, Leaf coming out blue.
Tamutsæ, Dawn white.		Kahsawe, Leaf zigzag.
Puwatsæ, Look white.		Tenyosawi, Pine zigzag.

^{78e} Cf. p. 19 n. 35.

⁷⁹ Compiled from genealogical tables and list of households.

⁸⁰ Possibly refers to the peak called Cattail (*awapi'*), Harrington, 2, 375.

⁸¹ *Muwæ*, light of dawn or sheet lightning.

⁸² That is found on sand.

⁸³ The name of a kachina of the Summer People (see pp. 17, 164.

⁸⁴ Properly, steam from ground which is wet.

Poraninitsæ, Butterfly white.	Pawasawi, ⁸⁵ Fire, gap, zigzag.
Puraniniane, Butterfly moving.	Tahpokwin, Elk lake.
Tseyt'a, Yellow mark.	Anyopokwi, Salt lake.
Yantsire, Willow bird.	Tininipokwin, Olivella shell lake.
Posetsire, Dew bird.	Wiyopokwin, Gap great lake.
Mawætā, Hand (?), thistle or burr, mark.	Oyitsawa, Ice blue.
Sæpi, Corn before it grains.	

VARIOUS PRACTICES IN NAMING

According to my San Juan informant, sex is indicated in names, boys' names ending in *p'i*, mountain, *t'a*, marked or spotted,⁸⁶ *qye* (*anye*), astir, aquiver, waving, moving, and girls' names in *powi*, flower, *pokwi*, lake, *tsqwe*, blue, and, I might add, *sqwi*, zigzag, and *t'u*, basket. *Tsire*, bird, *pe'*, prayer-feather, and *tsæ*, white, are common in male names. Terminal words are "sounded high" in boys' names, low, in girls' names. A girl's name, *Pokwi*, might become a boy's name, *Pokwi't'a*, by adding the proper terminal word.

According to Benina of Nambé names often contain some seasonal reference, ⁸⁷ to the period of the birth. For example, a certain girl who was born in October, was named Poyetseh, October yellow, and another girl, born in September, was named Anyopokwi, Salt lake,—September was the season of the expeditions for salt. Yellow willow was born when the willows go yellow.

Benina, by the way, had marked aesthetic preferences for names. Sohuwatse (Mist eagle) was a pretty name! Tehtseanye (Cottonwood eagle astir), another, Kutsæ, White corn, another.

At Nambé, we have noted that when a child is to be named during a period of ceremonial, one of the ceremonialists will

⁸⁵ "Highest mountain east of Nambé." Probably *pawoping*, fire medicine mountain (Harrington, 2, 376). Shrine here. Pawo was a boy's name.

⁸⁶ At Jemez this is an ending for female names. Here, too, "mountain" and prayer-stick or feather figure in male names, and "flower" in female names (Parsons, 3, 31-32).

⁸⁷ Cf. Harrington, 2, 62.

confer a name. I surmise that this practice occurs elsewhere and that it may account for the kachina names and for some of the many other names with ceremonial reference. Of names with ceremonial connotation there are even more, I believe, than one would infer from the words themselves.

There are several instances recorded of naming from forebears. Genealogy I, 63 named for her mother's mother's mother; Genealogy II, 41 for her mother's mother, as was likewise Genealogy II, 48. Genealogy II, 49 was named for his father's father.

A posthumous child takes the Mexican patronymic of his mother. An illustration was cited the case of Genealogy III, 40 who was a posthumous twin. He took his mother's name, Silva, also his mother's clan, Sand.

Indian names are sometimes applied, as elsewhere, to white neighbors. Mrs. Carol Pfäffle of San Gabriel ranch is called T'apokwĭ, Sun lake, and George Law of Pajarito ranch, Kohe,⁸⁸ Humming-bird. Herbert Spinden was called G'uhpitse, Red stone eagle and Mr. Strong, Pingkah, Mountain leaf. A certain white doctor was called Posæ sendo (Pumpkin cooked old man) as any one would be called who had the habit of laughing for nothing. Pumpkin in cooking crackles all the time.

ADOPTION

As elsewhere the practice of adopting children, more particularly of kindred, is very general. Genealogy II, 67 was "given" to her great uncle, the brother of her mother's father (Gen. II, 8). Genealogy I, 1 brought up Angelita, her sister's daughter's daughter. The little boy, Genealogy I, 73, has been "given" to his father's father. The widow of house 56, Santa Clara, has been "given" two grandchildren by her daughter, and a grandchild has been "given" the couple in house 58. When Genealogy III, 8, a widower, was dying, he gave his three children to a couple that were unrelated to him and of the other moiety.

⁸⁸ His name in Spanish, Jorge, was understood as Kohe.

MARRIAGE CHOICES

Foreign marriages occur, into another town or tribe or race, and one gets the impression that what objection there may be is not as loudly voiced as elsewhere, as, for example, at Taos or Jemez or Sia.

Genealogy I begins with the marriage of a Nambé woman and a San Juan man. Genealogy II, 27 of San Juan is married to a Laguna woman living in Santa Fé. Genealogy III, 36 of Santa Clara is married to a Tesuque woman and they live in Santa Clara. Genealogy III, 63 of Santa Clara was married to a Zuñi man, whom she met in Santa Fé. Genealogy III, 41 of Santa Clara was married to a San Ildefonso woman. Genealogy V, 12 of Nambé is married to a San Juan man, as is one of her daughters and as was her great-aunt. Outside of Pueblo circles, recorded in the genealogies, are the marriages of two Santa Clara women to Apache, living at Dulce; the marriages of three San Juan men (Gen. I, 24; II, 21; II, 25) to Mexican women, of whom one is deceased, another lives in Alcalde, another in San Juan; the marriages of two Nambé men (Gen. V, 15, 18) to Mexican women and of one Nambé woman to a man whose mother was Mexican and father, Navaho; the marriage of a San Juan woman (Gen. I, 32) to a white man, living in Washington, D. C.

In the Lists of Households other foreign marriages are noted: In the San Juan list, a Santa Clara man married to a San Juan woman, and a Santa Clara woman married to a San Juan man, both couples living in San Juan; a San Juan woman married into Taos;⁸⁹ a San Juan woman (with a Mexican grandfather) married to a Hopi man, and living in San Juan; four San Juan men married to Mexican women in San Juan; two San Juan women married to Mexicans, of whom one lives in San Juan and one away. In the Santa Clara list, a woman from San Juan,

⁸⁹ Long ago a Taos woman, Crusita, married into San Juan. After her husband died she returned to Taos,

a woman from San Ildefonso, two women from Tesuque, a woman from Cochiti, a Tewa man from First Mesa, and an Osage woman are all married into Santa Clara. One Santa Clara man is married to a Mexican woman living in Santa Clara, and another to a half-Mexican from Pojoaque. One Santa Clara man is married among the Ute, another among the Navaho (the couple visiting Santa Clara), another to a white woman in Albuquerque. One Santa Clara woman is married among the Apache at Dulce. From another source I heard of a Sia man and a Laguna man also married into Santa Clara; and of two Santa Clara women who married several decades ago into Jemez. Married into Nambé are or were a Laguna man, a Cochiti man, a man from Abiquiu, two San Juan men, one man and two women from Pojoaque, two Mexican men and one woman. Married into Tesuque are a Cochiti man, a San Ildefonso man, a Santa Clara man, and a Ute woman.

Tendencies, such as there are, to marriage outside of clan or inside of moiety will be discussed in connection with clan and moiety.

Within the recognized blood ties between collateral relations, maternal and paternal, there is considerable restriction in marriage choice. Descendants of the same grandparents or even great-grandparents may not marry. In the latter degree of collateral kinship, test cases showed irregularity of ruling or uncertainty and self-contradiction in the mind of the informant. In some cases marriage of descendants of the same great-grandparent was accounted proper, in some cases, improper. The following test cases based on the genealogies will bring out the above conclusions as well as various details of marriage choices:

Genealogy I

50 could not marry 62, father's sister's daughter.

70 could not marry 62, father's father's sister's daughter's daughter.

70 could not marry 59, father's father's sister's son's daughter.

Genealogy II

36 could not marry 47, father's brother's daughter.

61 could not marry 67, mother's sister's daughter.

61 could not marry 41, mother's mother's sister's daughter

61 could not marry daughter of 41, mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

61 could not marry 38, mother's mother's brother's daughter.

61 could not marry daughter of 38, mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter.

Son of 61 could marry daughter of 38, father's mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter.

Son of 35 could marry daughter of 36, father's father's brother's son's daughter.⁹⁰

Son of 62 could marry daughter of 41, mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.⁹¹

Son of 36 could marry daughter of 49, father's father's brother's son's daughter.

Son of 61 could marry daughter of 67, father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

Genealogy III

44 could not marry 49, father's sister's son.

Daughter of 44 could not marry son of 49, mother's father's sister's son's son.

44 could not marry 60, father's father's sister's son's son.

In the last case cited, that of a Santa Clara girl and her father's father's sister's son's son, it was stated that to this marriage the Catholic priest would not object, but the fathers of the girl and boy would. Parental restriction is more comprehensive than church restriction, which in New Mexico does not extend beyond first cousins. A Santa Clara case outside of the genealogical table was cited in which the grandchildren of a sister and brother wanted to marry, i.e., the girl wanted to marry her mother's mother's brother's son's son, to the objection of their respective families.

⁹⁰ Note that were clans patrilineal and exogamous this marriage would be forbidden.

⁹¹ Note that were clans matrilineal and exogamous, this marriage would be forbidden.

"Lots of boys and girls want to marry with their relations, but their fathers will say, 'Don't you know you are relations?'" My informant once asked her father, "How would it be if everybody in Santa Clara was our relation?" "You could marry somewhere else," was the answer.

No theory is held against marriage with relatives by affinity. Marriage with brother or sister of a deceased spouse is not condemned, as it would be, let us say, at Zuñi. Genealogy II, 18 said very positively that were her husband to die, it would be all right for her to marry his brother, Genealogy II, 13. In houses 60 and 62 on our San Juan map live two brothers married to two sisters. My informant opined that if one out of each couple should die the survivors might marry each other. In houses 4 and 5 of Nambé formerly lived two brothers married to two sisters. "We do this sometimes," commented my informant. In Genealogy II is recorded the marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister. (Gen. II, 30, 31, 34.) "They allow this marriage in the family if you have been good," i.e., made good, with a good record as a worker or provider.

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE PRACTICES

The kinsmen of the boy—his father, uncles (*tohu* and *meme*) and other collateral relatives (*matui*)—and his godfather (*popotara*)⁹² "go to the girl's house and say they need her. 'All right,' says her father, 'I will let her aunts (paternal kinswomen, *ki'i*) know, and her grandmother (*saya*) and grandfather (*t'et'e*), and we will ask her if she wants to marry.' So that night he calls in all those relatives (*matui*). . . . They make bread and get ready. They go to the boy's house and say the girl wants to marry him. The boy has to go and tell all his relatives (*matui*). They must go and see the girl first. They meet at the boy's house and then go all together to the girl's house. The boy

⁹² His marriage godfather (*popotara*, *popota*, *ko 'tsatara*, marriage father) is not the same as his godfather in infancy. Cf. Parsons, 3, 46.

and his family have had to get ready to take something to the girl—clothes, belt, moccasins. The boy's relatives (*matui*) also bring presents—crockery, money, etc. At the girl's house her uncle (*meme*) has to ask the boy if he wants to marry. He says yes. The boy's uncle (*meme*) asks the girl, too, and she says yes. So all their *matui* hear that they want to marry. That night they exchange rosaries. Either the godfather of the boy or the godfather of the girl puts the *rosario* of the boy on the girl, and the *rosario* of the girl on the boy. All have supper. The girl's people say jokingly to the boy's people, 'Now you must bring wood, a girl needs everything.' Three weeks later (the priest has to call their names three times) they have the wedding. Meanwhile the boy has to bring meat, lard, flour, etc., to the girl's house. They prepare also in the boy's house and in the godfather's house. From the church they go first to the godfather's house and eat, then to the boy's house and eat, then to the girl's house and eat.⁹³ There they stay.

"After a while⁹⁴ the boy may say, 'Mother, we have been here a long time, we want to go home.' The father says, 'She is yours. You can do what you want with her. If you want to stay here, you may stay. If you want to take her home, you may.' Then the mother prepares a basket of meal for the girl to carry to her mother-in-law."

But it is to their own house the couple commonly go to live. The house may have been given to either boy or girl by the father or mother or either one, sometimes by a grandparent, or the boy may have acquired the house for himself. The girl's mother and the boy's mother have given them beds, blankets, etc.

These betrothal and marriage practices are, in part at least,

⁹³ Cf. Dumarest, 147-150. There is no marriage fight between the boy's maternal and paternal kinswomen as among Tewa and Hopi of First Mesa. As for joking-relationships, a San Juan woman opined that your father's "sisters" would joke with you more than your mother's sisters; but nothing more definite than this.

⁹⁴ Perhaps eight days, perhaps a month or two.

Mexican.⁹⁵ In the folk-tales courtship of another type appears. The girl invites the boy to her house or proposes to go with the boy to his house, or she takes a basket of meal to his house. In one tale when the boy declines he has his mother replace the meal with meat. But the accepted girl stays with her basket. When the boy goes courting in the folk-tales he carries with him a woman's dress and belt and moccasins, and a jar. The addition of the jar reads as if it were entirely fictitious, to supply a bit of constructive machinery.

Change of spouse figures in the tales, and adultery. To what extent these practices occur in town it is difficult to learn. There is the usual pressure by the Catholic church against separation and remarriage. At least one case is notorious. Genealogy III, 38 married her first husband when she was only twelve or thirteen. He was an older man, rich but "awful mean." He drank and beat her. She left him and lived in the house of her deceased father's brother (*tynu*). Then without benefit of church or state she remarried, at the age of twenty-two, very happily. "My second husband is good. He don't mind where I go. I go where I want. I think it not hard to live with a man if he is good." Cheerful Timia! One hears that several times she has been reproved by the town officers for her matrimonial conduct. Possibly the church is back of this reproof.

On the other hand, among the unmarried there is a considerable degree of promiscuity, and many births out of marriage. When a child, particularly a first-born, takes the mother's Mexican patronymic, one surmises, as at Jemez,⁹⁶ illegitimacy. "He was given to his grandfather" (mother's father) is, however, the usual explanation for this use of the maternal patronymic.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ For rejecting a suitor the Mexicanism to give him a pumpkin (in Tewa, *opomage*, pumpkin give) is used. Compare marriage practices at Isleta (Parsons, 8, 166-167) and at Jemez (Parsons, 3, 45-46).

⁹⁶ See Parsons, 3, 46.

⁹⁷ Said of Genealogy I, 18.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

The single family is the rule, married sons and daughters seeking their own house; but there are many cases of three generations living together,⁹⁸ and older widows or widowers almost always live with a married child or have adoptive grandchildren. There are also many household combinations of collateral relatives and of relatives through marriage.⁹⁹ In house 9, San Juan, lives a girl with the family of her uncle by marriage. In house 33, Santa Clara, four orphaned children live with their father's brother. In house 1, Nambé, lives a man with his mother's brother. Not uncommonly an unmarried or widowed man or woman lives with a married brother or sister. In house 81, San Juan, a widower with his three children lives with his sister and brother-in-law, rather than in his own near-by house; in house 7, Nambé, a deserted wife lives with her mother's sister. At San Juan, in houses 86-7, the families of a brother and sister combine in housekeeping.

Two or even three houses are not uncommonly owned by the family group. Husband and wife, for example, may each own a house. In such cases, the family may live in the houses alternately or one house may be used as a store house.

Related families tend to live in neighboring houses, either through circumstances of inheritance or, more deliberately, through purchase or building. A conspicuous case is that of a group of brothers in Santa Clara (houses 58-62). Their widowed mother divided her house between two brothers and gave land to the other two to build on. These four households of Summer people, clustering around the kiva of the Summer people, *bu'ge te'e*, are referred to in town as *bug'e'i*.

⁹⁸ A conspicuous case is the household in which lives the Winter chief of San Juan (house 39). His own house he uses only for ceremonies. The household of house 9 of San Juan is another case in point. This compound family appear to prefer life together although there is another house at their disposal (house 42). For Santa Clara, see houses 16, 28, 32, 33, 44.

⁹⁹ Cf. Parsons, 3, 48.

INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY AND HOUSE OWNERSHIP

Offspring, male and female, inherit equally, in theory at least, land,¹⁰⁰ cattle¹⁰¹ and horses, houses. Genealogy I, 2 left his field to be divided between his three children, two daughters and one son. Her portion the oldest daughter left in turn to her three children, two sons and one daughter. Of these the elder son has four children to inherit, three sons and one daughter; the second son, one daughter; the daughter, Elisa Montoya, one daughter, Santana. Santana will also inherit a field from her father, who inherited it from his father. "I t'ink ladies have more land dan men," remarked a Tesuque man. Siveria (house 2), Tabiana (house 3), Petra (house 4), Bimenia (house 6), Jesusita (house 8), Enofri (house 9), Cirina (house 11), Lucaria (house 15), Rosa (house 16), Maria (house 22), Nifa (house 23), all these Tesuque women own a field inherited sometimes from father, sometimes from mother.

Jewelry, i.e., more particularly earrings and necklaces, is also inherited. Rosita of San Juan showed me abalone shell earrings inherited from her mother, also a necklace of red stone beads, with a central white stone ring pendant inherited from her "grandmother's mother."

Houses are frequently shared, i.e., one room given to one child, one room to another,¹⁰² but if the other children are already provided for or established, the house may be left to one child. A Santa Clara woman opined that sons were favored before daughters in the matter of house inheritance, in her own case her two brothers having inherited and shared her father's

¹⁰⁰ Considerable inequality in land holding has been reported for the Tewa. In 1890 at San Juan there were holdings of twenty-five acres with many owning no land at all. At Santa Clara the largest holding was thirty-five acres, the others ranging down to two or three acres. At Tesuque the holdings were from eighteen acres to six, at Nambé from forty to six. The largest plot—seven acres—at San Ildefonso was owned by a widow. (Census, 102, 103, 104, 105).

¹⁰¹ There are no sheep, mutton is got through barter. "When people go to Apache feasts they trade corn meal and wheat meal for mutton."

¹⁰² See list of households, San Juan, houses 3, 4; 54, 55; 69-71; 110, 111; Santa Clara, houses 24, 24a; 28, 29; 43, 43a; 58, 60, 61, 62.

house to her own exclusion. (See houses 1, 43, 43a). Our figures on house ownership as taken from the List of Households bear out this opinion. In Santa Clara forty-two houses are owned by men as against twenty owned by women;¹⁰³ in San Juan sixty-nine houses are owned by men as against thirty-one owned by women.¹⁰⁴ That is, in both towns house ownership is two to one in favor of men. In Nambé it is three to one.¹⁰⁵ In the notes on gift and inheritance included in the List of Households, there are in the San Juan notes references to ownership passing in twenty-three instances through men, in fifteen through women; in the Santa Clara notes, in twenty instances through men, in eight through women. These instances do not include inheritance through a deceased spouse. About one-third of the women house owners are proprietors through their deceased husbands.¹⁰⁶ The widowed, men as well as women, appear to inherit the house, rather than offspring, the surviving spouse presumably holding the house in trust for offspring. Remarriage does not of itself alter this arrangement; there are a number of cases of the second spouse living in a house acquired from the deceased first spouse. One San Juan widower lives in the house which his deceased wife acquired from her first husband, deceased. In another case (house 24) after she fell out with her second husband the woman went back to live in the house she had acquired from her deceased first husband, her two children by her first husband and her widowed brother living with her. The history of houses 54 and 55 is curiously illustrative of inheritance practices. The houses were once a single house which was divided between a brother and sister. The sister died, leaving her house to her husband; he died, leaving the house to his second wife, who is now remarried to the man next door, the brother of the first woman owner. In Santa Clara a man owns the house of

¹⁰³ Six of these twenty houses descended from a deceased husband.

¹⁰⁴ Eleven of these thirty-one houses descended from a deceased husband.

¹⁰⁵ As at Jemez (Parsons, 3, 47).

¹⁰⁶ Of the seven houses owned by women at Nambé, four have come down through deceased husbands.

his deceased wife (house 26), which she got from her father, whose house is contiguous. In other words, this house did not revert to the deceased woman's family, although it was originally a part of their house, and the woman died without children.

In the foregoing analysis no information about San Ildefonso was included because the information obtained was too unreliable for such close analysis. The San Ildefonso information can be taken only as descriptive comment. As such it corresponds with one exception to the data for the northern towns. Houses are inherited from either parent, from grandparent or from spouse, or a house is, so to speak, a wedding present. But female proprietorship appears to equal male proprietorship. According to List A there are fourteen female owners to eleven male; according to List B, seven female owners to nine male. This increased tendency in favor of female ownership may have been influenced by Keresan practice.

LISTS OF HOUSEHOLDS¹⁰⁷

San Juan

1. Little kiva. (See pl. 2a).
2. Vacant. Owner, F., Winter.¹⁰⁸ See house 24.
3. Owner, F., Summer (Gen. I, 26). With her and her husband live her widowed brother and his daughter (Gen. I, 24, 59). She got the house from her mother (Gen. I, 5), who had got it from her father (Gen. I, 2).
4. Owner, M., Winter (Gen. I, 9). With wife, unmarried children and one grandson (Gen. I, 73). He got the house from his father. Houses 3 and 4 had been one house divided between a daughter and son.
5. Owner, M., T'anyo (Sun cactus) or José Antonio Kasia [Garcia], Winter. He is *tsih pu'fona sen^{do}*. (See p. 118) He is a widower, aged [75], and lives here with an unmarried son, Poyu, Felipe Kasia, aged [23].
6. Owner, M., Katsaæ (White leaf), aged [28], Winter, son of owner of house 5. The house was bought by the owner from a Mexican. The house is sometimes lived in, sometimes used as store house. See house 10. Katsaæ is not a *pu'fona*.

¹⁰⁷ See house maps, 2-7.

¹⁰⁸ For the moieties, Winter and Summer people, see pp. 89ff. Clan affiliations are little known. See p. 82ff.



a

Little kiva, and houses 23, 89, 90. San Juan. The blanketed figure is entering the kiva in connection with the Turtle dance.



b

Northwest houses on Fish town court. San Juan.

7. Owner, M., Winter, Delfiro Awina [Delfido Aguino]. Widower, aged [32]. With daughter, aged [9]. Son of owner of house 35. This house was built for him at marriage.
8. Owner, M., Nanakatseyi, Yellow cottonwood leaf, or Demesio Cata, Summer. Widower, aged [38]. With his mother, Wæge or Romancita. The house belonged to his deceased wife, who got it from her first husband, a Winter man. She was Winter.
9. Owner, M., Oyihe (Ice?) or Juan Domingo Cruz, Winter. Widower, aged [70]. His father lives with him, also his son Opata (Painted world) or Pablo Cruz, [41], and daughter-in-law, Pepowi (Prayer-stick, flower), [39], and their three daughters, also the daughter of his deceased wife's deceased sister.
10. Owner, F., Winter. With her daughter, Sow'uaty (Morning mist basket), and son-in-law and their five little boys. The son-in-law, Katsæ, is owner of house 6.
11. Owner, M., José Nasio Torre [Ignacio Torre], Summer. Widower, aged [57]. With him lives his brother, Gavino Torre [Gabino Torre], aged [51], who has left his wife, according to School census, a Mexican. The mother of the two men was a Mexican.
12. Owner, F., Payotsæ (White summer) or Koita Cruz, [39], Summer. With her live her two children [José Manuel Atencio, 17, Maria Teofa Atencio, 14] from her first husband, a Summer man, her present husband, Tani (Parrot), Manuel Montoya, [41], Summer man, and their child [Petrolina, 1]. She was Summer before her first marriage. She also owns house 85, where she lived with her first husband. This house (no. 12) she inherited from her sister, who had bought it. This sister, her husband, and three children all died of the influenza.
13. Owner, M., Avelino Cruz, [25], Winter. With wife, Bernadita Cruz, [23], and child Abran, [1]. He is the son of the owner of house 9, who gave him the house when he married. The owner of house 9 had got house 13 from his father.
14. Vacant. Owner, F., Winter. She got the house from her mother. She is married to a Mexican, and they are away, somewhere, at work.
15. Store house. Owner, M., Winter, owner of house 9.
16. Owner, M., San Juan Chave(z), [57], Summer. He got the house from his father. He is living here alone, as he has separated from his wife, who is living in her own house, no. 24. (Subsequently this couple reunited).
17. Owner, M., Tope (White clay prayer-stick) or Rival [Roybal] Cruz, [56], Summer. With his wife, Po'tse, or Santana Trujillo, [50], and her two children [Felipe Cata, 26, Dolorita Cata, 24] by her first husband.
- 18-19. Owner, M., owner of house 17. This house he rents to Mexicans.
20. Owned by Mexicans.

21. Owner, M., Wæpi or Eliseyo [Alcario] Cruz, [47], Summer. With his three daughters [Tonita, 12, Dolorita, 10, Maria Alcaia, 8] and wife, Pæsesawa (Blue deer horn) or Marianita Puiwha, [40], and her half sister, Yopowitseyi (Yellow yucca flower) [Lorencita Montoya, 15] and half brother, Walupe [Gaudalupe] Montoya, [20].
22. Owner, M., Antoyo, Toyo, [Antonio] Montoya, [53], Winter. With wife, Elena Puiwha [47]. He got the house from his mother.
23. Owner, M., Puganini (Butterfly) or Nario Awina [Nerio Aguino], Winter. Widower, aged [55], living alone. He is the town crier. See pp. 102-103.
24. Owner, F., T'anta (Sunpainting), or Pasqualita Chave(z), [46], Winter. Wife of owner of house 16. She lives here with two sons [Victoriano Aguino, 15, Juanito Aguino, 11] by her first husband, and her brother, a widower. She got the house from her first husband, who was a Winter man. She was Winter before she married him, and she remained Winter after her second marriage, to a Summer man. Before she separated from her second husband she lived with him in his house.
25. Owner, F., Summer. With husband and son (Gen. II, 10, 12, 35).
26. Owner, M., Kypotsire (Wet corn bird) or Juan Baptista Cruz, [46], Summer. With wife, Pînkatsé (Mountain yellow leaf) or Loterio [Dolorita] Trujillo, [40], Summer, and three children.
27. Owner, F., Summer. Wife of owner of house 17. Store house. She got it from her first husband.
28. Owner, M., Mowaanye (Dawn astir) or Juan Dolores Cruz, Summer. With wife, Pokwî (Lake) or Reyes Garcia.
29. Vacant. Owned by some west side people.
30. Owner, M., Pîmpe (Mountain prayer-stick) or Zeferino Trujillo, Winter. Widower, aged [79], living alone; but mealing with his married son, in house 89.
31. Owner, M., Pokono or Elisio Cruz, Winter, son of 30. Outside chief, 1921-1923. See pp. 103-105. With wife, Kapowi (Petal), and children.
32. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and children (Gen. I, 30, 31, 70-75).
33. Owner, M., Winter. The Winter chief (see p. 112) who uses the house for his ceremonials and meetings. It is otherwise vacant. Winter chief got the house from his mother, who got it from a man they took care of when he was old and sick, not a relation. The predecessor of the Winter chief had lived in house 9.
34. Owner, M., Summer. With wife. He got the house from his father, on marrying (Gen. II, 5, 6).
35. Owner, M., Nanatseyi (Yellow cottonwood) or Juan Bautisto Awina, [61], Winter. Governor in 1923. Right hand man, Flint *pufona*. With wife, Tsekwææ (Spruce magpie) or Manuelita Tapia, [51]. She is *apienu* Mother. See p. 140
36. Owner, M., Juan Cruz, Summer. With wife.



a
Houses 75-78. San Juan.



b
Houses 38, 45. San Juan.

37. Vacant. Owner, F., Winter. She got the house from her mother. She herself lives in house 9, where she is adoptive.
38. Owner, F., Poætseyi [Gregorita Cruz, 42], Gen. I, 29, Winter. With second husband, Juan Cruz, and five children [Neandro, 16, Juanita, 14, Elias, 10, José Pascual, 8] by her first husband, a Summer man, from whom she got the house.
39. Owner, M., Ta'atseyi (Yellow mark) or Juan Domingo Cruz, [70], Winter. With wife, Benina Archuleta, and adult children, two daughters and two sons, and the wife, Maria Cruz, [30], and five children [Bernadina, 10, Isabel, 7, Melinda, 4, Aurellia, 1] of one of these sons. This married son, Tsiguwenu (Lightning) or Max Cruz, [40], is the Winter chief.
40. Owner, F., Yanka (Willow) or Crusita Atencio, Summer. With husband (Winter), Tutsauwe (Blue basket) or Refugio Tapia, and child, and husband's brother Pokwıtseyi (Yellow lake) or Walupi Tapia. She got the house from her father. She has an older brother who is unmarried.
41. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and children (Gen. I, 18, 19, 50, 51, 56, 58).
42. Vacant. Owner, M., Winter. The owner of house 9.
43. Owner? Winter. Husband, Powatse¹⁰⁹ (Look, eagle) or Walupe Garcio, [48], and wife, Pokwı (Lake) or Franciscita Awina, [43],—they bought the house on marrying,—and four children, [Lorenzo, 18, Hilaria, 14, José Natividad, 8, José Emiliano, 4]. He is left hand man, Flint *pufona*.
44. Owner, M., Ohuwahanye (Shifting clouds) or Santu Cruz, [46], Summer. Outside chief (1919-1920). With wife, Ogawi or Petrollina [Petronita] Cruz, [44], and four children, [Francisco, 18, Placido, 15, Rosita, 11, Clarita, 10, Simonita, 6, Greogista, 1]. He got the house from his mother.
45. *Kımu*, Common house belonging to government. Corn and wheat, threshed by machine, are kept here. (See pl. 3_b.)
46. Owner, M., a Mexican. With married granddaughter, G'uhpit'ı (Red stone basket) or Rey(es) Martin(ez), [23], and her husband, T'anye (Moving sun) or Dorenso Wina [Lorenzo Aguino, 26] [and their two children, Ciprianita, 5, Maria Epifania, 1]. The woman and her sisters are called Kayuti (Coyote), a familiar nickname for Mexican aguino is assistant *kossa*.
47. Owner, F., Amelia Martin, Winter. Sister of woman in house 46. Her Mexican grandfather gave her the house. She is married to a Hopi, Rex Hopi, who is accounted a Winter man.
48. Owner, Mexican.
49. Owner, M., Summer. Widower (Gen. I, 17). With daughter and son, who is Hunter chief and, although thirty-two years old, unmarried.

¹⁰⁹ Presumably a substituted name, for his name is Tseyohuwa, spruce *ohuwa*.

50. Owner, white teacher who bought the house.
51. Owner, M., Oxuwahta (Painted kachina) or Eulogio Cata, [45], Summer. With Mexican wife, Reginia, [37], and nine children, [Epimenio, 24, Eduardo, 17, Ernestine, 15, Josefina, 14, Rosaria, 11, Joseph H., 10, José, 4, Alfredo, 3].
52. Owner, F., Poka (Water leaf), Winter. Sister of owner of house 51. With second husband, Tsire (Bird), and two children by him, two children by her first husband. She got the house from her mother. Her first husband was the son or owner of house 5, and in that house she used to live.
53. Owner, M., T'otse or Antonio Cruz, Summer. Widower, living alone.
54. Owner, M., Peña or Martinez Montoya, Winter. With wife, Oxupahpowi (Kachina flower) or Reyes Archelita, and three sons. She is left hand woman *apienu*.
55. Owner, F., Winter. Reyes of house 54. Reyes got the house from her first husband, who was the widower of Peña's sister.
56. Owner, F., Presenta Atencio, Summer. With husband, T'abia, and two children. She inherited the house from her father.
57. Vacant. Owner, M., Winter, who is owner of house 66.
58. Owner, M., Payouwe (Summer altar) or Benito Cruz, Winter. With wife and two grandchildren.
59. Owner, F., Puyetse (October yellow) or Cecilia Puhewa [Pobijua, 40], Summer. With husband Tsireta (Spotted bird) or Antonio Trujillo, [46], and two children. She got the house from her mother. Trujillo is a *kossa*. See pl. 17.
60. Owner, M., Ologio [Eulogio] Castellan, [61], Winter. With wife, Kæpe (Lion prayer-stick) or Franciscita Cavallando, and daughter, [Cruzencia, 18]. Another daughter is married into Taos. He got the house from his mother.
61. Owner, F., Tenyo (? Pine), Summer. Widow with daughter. She got the house from her deceased husband.
62. Owner, M., Yotsire or Felix Castellano, Winter, [59]. With wife, Brigida, [48]. He is the brother of owner of house 60, and he too got the house from his mother. The two brothers are married to two sisters. Castellano is right hand man to the Winter chief.
63. Owner, M., Tsihtsauwe, Blue arrow-point, Summer. Bachelor, aged 32. His mother and sister, deceased.
64. Vacant. Owner, F., Powipokwi (Flower lake) or Solera Oyanki [Soledad Oyenke, 55], Summer. She is blind, and lives with a brother in the suburb, Pueblito. She was never married. She had a son, who died aged thirty. She got the house from her father.
65. Owner, Mexican, who keeps the post office. Sold to him by Gen. II, 24.
66. Owner, M., Pedro Poiw'a [Pobijua, 70], Winter. With wife, Nana-tseyi (Yellow cottonwood) [Dolorita, 64], and two grandchildren.
67. Store house.

68. Owner, M., Pobikan (Round flower) or José Leandro Atencio, Summer. He is *kossa*¹¹⁰ *seno* or chief. Widower, with unmarried daughter and her infant. He got the house from his mother-in-law. It is here the *kossa* meet. (See pl. 2*b* for this section of town.)
69. Owner, M., Opatsæ (White world), Winter. Widower, with young son. He got the house from his father.
70. Owner, M., Gosepi (Mountain to the East), Winter. Widower, with little daughter.
71. Owner, M., Tsire (Bird), Winter. With married daughter, Avanyo (Water serpent) or [Crucita Abeyta, 36], and son-in-law, T'amatsire (Dawn bird) or [Victoriano Trujillo, 39], Winter, and their seven children, [Lorencito, 11, José, 9, Bellannino, 6, Maria Clarita, 1.] She looks after the children in houses 69, 70. Owners of 69 and 71 are brothers. Owner of 70 calls owner of 71 sometimes *tonu* (uncle), sometimes *tara* (father). Curiously enough it was "guessed" that the mothers of 70 and of 69 and 71 were sisters.
72. Owner, M., Kywi or Ilario [Hilario] Trujillo, [29], Winter. With wife, Powitseyi (Yellow flower) or Rey Awina [Reyesita Aguino, 23], and three children [Bernadito, 7, Maria Eleveria, 3, Manuelita, 1]. He bought the house.
73. Owner, F., Katsauwe (Blue leaf) or [Francisquita Montoya, 30], Winter. With husband [Basilio Naranjo, 34], from Santa Clara, [and son, Felipe Montoya, 8]. She got the house from her father.
74. Owner, F., Sæwe (Zigzag), Winter. Widow, with two sons, Tsiguwenu (Lightning), Kae (Leaf). She got the house from her deceased husband.
75. Owner, F., Tuyopowi (Chief flower) or Juanita Montoya, [75], Summer. Widow, with three sons, [Favian Cata, 36, Demecio, 30, Severiano Cata, 22] of whom one, Pose (Dew), is twice widowed, with one child by first wife, and one child by second wife. Juanita got the house from her deceased husband. (See pl. 3*a*.)
76. Owner, M., Summer. With wife and six children (Gen. I, 14, 15, 42-47). He got the house from his father.
77. Owner, F., T'apesa^uwe (Sun prayer-stick zigzag), Summer. Widow, with four sons, one of whom, Oxuwah tseyi (Yellow kachina), is married. She got the house from her deceased husband.
78. Owner, M., Awi, Summer. With wife, Pokanapowi, who is the daughter of owner of house 77, and three children. He got the house when he married from his father, owner of house 79.
79. Owner, M., Poyetsire (Snow bird) or Dyegito [Diego] Montoya, [50], Summer. With wife, Oka' [Gertrude, 47], and daughter.
80. Owner, M., Capia [Polocarpio] Martin[ez], [37], Summer. With wife, Fileria Petera, [38], of Santa Clara, and two children [Feliata, 8, Encurnacion, 1]. He got the house when he married from his father.

¹¹⁰ See p. 128.

81. Owner M., Opahbe, Ramos Archuleta, [58], Summer. With wife, Pahma or Reysita Ortiz, [53], of Nambé, and wife's widowed brother, Sotero Ortiz (Winter), and his four children [José M., 20, Pasqualita, 17, Rafaelita, 12, José Dolores, 10] (Gen. II, 31, 62-4). Now (1925) *tsih pufona sendo*.¹¹¹ (See pl. 1.)
82. Owner, F., Tqiyé (Turkey buzzard), Summer. Widow, with five children. She got the house from her deceased husband.
83. Owner, M., Winter. He lives in house 81 (Gen. II, 31).
84. Vacant. Belongs to orphans, Summer, who are away, the girl at school at Haskell. The front of this house is used by the *kossa* for their "kitchen."¹¹²
85. Owner, F., Summer, the owner of house 12. Sometimes the family lives in house 85, sometimes in house 12.
86. Owner, M., Summer. With wife and her brother who is *kwirano*¹¹³ *sendo*, (Summer), and his wife, a Mexican, and their two children. The owner is blind.
87. Owner, M., Summer. *Kwirano sendo*. He built this house. It is used by the household of house 86, the door of which is the door used.
88. Owner, F., Manuelita Cata [32], Winter. With second husband, Amarante Castellano, [33], and son, [Francisco Trujillo, 14] by first husband, from whom she got the house.
89. Owner, M., Koping (Buffalo mountain) or Santiago Archuleta, [67], Winter. Governor in 1922, his brother (house 31) being Outside chief. Right hand man, Fire *pufona*. With wife, Celestina Trujillo, [49], and two children [Emiliano, 24, Gregorita, 20]. He got the house from his father, owner of house 30.
90. Owner, M., Ambrosio Martin[ez], [16], Summer. With wife, Payotseyi (Yellow summer), [Elisa, 50], and girl (Gen. II, 67) "given" to them. He got the house from his father.
91. Big kiva. (See pl. 3a.)
92. Owner, M., Summer. Summer chief. (See p. 111.) With second wife and two children (Gen. I, 11, 13, 40-1). He used to live in house 97, which belonged to his first wife.
93. Owner, M., Summer. Owner of house 90, but loaned to owner of house 96.
94. Store house. Owner, F., Winter, owner of house 97.
95. Store house. Owner, F., Summer. Woman in house 8. She used to live in this house before her daughter-in-law died.
96. Owner, M., Agapito Capia, Winter. With wife and two sons. He got the house from his father.
97. Owner, F., Culasita, Winter. Widow, with married daughter, Juanita Atencio, 19, son-in-law, Kwæwæ (Rain standing) or José

¹¹¹ See p. 118.

¹¹² See p. 128.

¹¹³ See p. 127.



a

Big kiva. San Juan. Note vent and Americanized wooden stairs.



b

East side of house 98. San Juan.

Inez Trujillo, [30], and their three children, [Gregorita, 2, José Vicente, 1]. She used to live with her husband in house 92, and owner of house 92 lived here. Trujillo is one of the Winter Men.

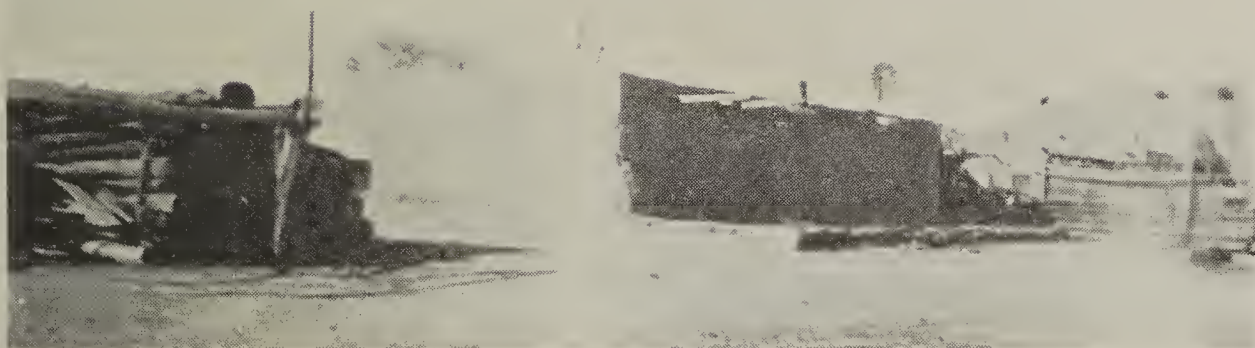
98. Owner, M., Winter. Son of owner of house 97. With wife and three children. (See pl. 4*b*.)
99. Owner, M., Monico Vilardi, [35], Summer. With wife, Meme [Mamie half Mexican, half American, 36], a Mexican. He built this house.
100. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and five children (Gen. I, 30, 31, 70-1, 73-5). He built this house in 1922. His father and brothers helped, also his father's sister's daughter and her husband. His sister sent him money.
101. Owner, F., T'upowi (Basket flower) or Lupita Cavallando, Winter. with her widowed son-in-law (Winter).
102. Store house. Owner, M., Summer. He got the house from his mother-in-law. See house 68.
103. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and six children (Gen. II, 32, 33, 65-6, 68-71).
104. Owner, M., Tsew'a (Yellow road) or Juan Torrez, [55]. With wife, Toge, [Juanita, 55].
- 105-6. Store houses, belonging to owners of houses 60, 62.
107. Owner, F., Behtseyi (Yellow apple) or [Juanita Garcia, 41], Summer. With husband Kawó or Venturo Montoya, [58], and two step-children, [Josefita, 20, Antonio, 13]. She got the house from her father.
108. Owner, F., Oyitsauwe (Blue ice) or Walupita [Gaudalupe, 35], Winter. With husband José Laluz Cata, [38], and five children [Marianita, 16, Leomda, 10, Martina, 7, Juanita, 1]. She got the house from her mother.
109. Owner, F., Florentina, [36], Summer. With husband, T'amuyowa (Dawn,?), or Demesio Cata [45], and eight children, [Manuel Rey, 15, Marcus, 13, Frustoso, 12, José, 9, Pablo, 8, Crestina, 1]. The house was built in 1921, by the woman's father and the man's father. All the kinswomen of both wife and husband helped plaster.
110. Owner, the owner of house 80. He got the house from his father.
111. Owner, M., Summer. With wife and child. He is brother to the owner of house 110, and he too got the house from his father.
112. Owner, F., Kayetseyi (Yellow fetich stone) or Elusa Awina, Summer. With husband, Kætā, and child. She got the house from her mother.
113. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Kwætāyiya (Rain (?) mother), and two children and widowed mother. He got the house from his father.
114. Owner, M., Powitseyi (Yellow flower) or Antonio Montoya, [49], Summer. With wife, Oxuwahtsauwe (Blue kachina) or Crusita Castellano, [41], and four children [Felipita, 17, Tomas, 13, Candelaria, 8, Emile, 3]. He got the house from his father.

115. Owner, M., Summer. In house 107. The family lives in house 115 in summer.
116. Owner, M., Nanapi (Cottonwood mountain) or — Cata, Summer. With wife, Tsiguwenut'um (Lightning basket), and three children. He got the house from his father.
117. Owner, M., Summer. With wife and three children. He is father of Gen., I, 31.
118. Owner, M., Winter. ?
- 119.¹¹⁴ Owner, M., Winter. With wife, sister of owner of house 118.

Santa Clara

1. Owner, F., Winter. She bought the house. She is a wage earner. She lives here with her husband (Gen. III, 38, 40).
2. Vacant. Owner, F., Winter (Gen. III, 43). She got the house from her first husband. See house 17.
3. Owner, F., Winter. She got the house from her mother.
4. Owner, M., Summer. Widower. Deceased wife, Summer, before marriage. With widower son and his daughter.
5. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, a Summer woman from San Ildefonso, and child. He got the house as a gift from his grandfather.
6. Owner, M., Summer. Aged bachelor. His widowed brother and three children lived with him before they all died of the influenza.
7. Owner, M., Summer. Owner of house 6. Built by him and his brother.
8. *Bu'u te'e*, Town kiva. Belongs to Winter people. (See pl. 5a.)
9. Owner, F., Summer. With her husband (Summer) and her brother. She got the house from her father (Summer), who died of the influenza.
10. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Summer, before marriage, and five children. He built the house, on marriage. (See pls. 6 and 7.)
11. Owner, M., Summer. Son of owner of house 10. With wife, Summer before marriage, and three sons.
12. Owner, M., Summer. Widower, with one daughter. His wife before marriage was Summer. She died of the influenza. He is brother to woman in house 10.
13. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Summer before marriage, and two daughters. He built the house. He is brother to owner of house 12.
14. Owner, M., Winter. With wife, Winter before marriage, and four sons. He got the house from his father, on marriage.

¹¹⁴ On the west bank of the Rio Grande lies a suburb of San Juan, Turquoise pueblo or "pueblo on the other side" (see Harrington, 2, 226). Here live Genealogy II, 1-2 and in several houses several of their descendants—Genealogy II, 13-14, etc., 15-16, etc., 21-22, etc., 23-24, etc. Genealogy I, 3, the brother of Genealogy I, 1. had also lived here.



a

Kiva of Winter people. Santa Clara.



b

Houses 24-26. Santa Clara.



Houses 10, 11, 12. Santa Clara. Unloading wood.

15. Owner, M., Winter. With wife, Winter, before marriage. He is father of owner of house 14, and of Genealogy III, 15.
- 15a. Owner, M., Summer. Widower, his wife, Summer before marriage, died of influenza. His two children are in boarding-school. He got the house from his father.
16. Owner, F., Winter. With husband, Summer, and five children, of whom one son lives here with his wife and two children. She got the house from her father, brother to owner of house 15.
- 16a. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Summer before marriage, and three children. He got the house from his father.
17. Owner, M., Winter. With wife, half Mexican from Pojoaque, and seven children. Two other children, one of whom is Genealogy III, 43, are married.
18. Owner, F., Winter, before marriage. Widow, with five children. She got the house from her husband, Winter.
19. Vacant. Owner, F., Summer, owner of house 9. She got the house from her father's father.
20. Vacant, in ruins. Belonged to grandfather of owner of house 19, who left it to another grandchild. (Winter).
21. Owner, M., with his daughter and son-in-law. They are all from Jemez. They are neither Summer nor Winter.
22. Owner, F., Winter. (Before marriage, Summer). Widow with her daughter. She got the house from her husband. She has two married sons.
23. Owner, F., Summer, before marriage. With husband, Summer, and two sons. She inherited the house from her mother.
24. Owner, F., Winter. With husband and unmarried children (Gen. III, 22, 23, 70-72). She got the house from her father.
- 24a. Owner, F., Winter. Owner of house 24. She bought it from her brother.
25. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Summer before marriage, and daughter. He built the house on marriage.
26. Owner, M., Summer. Widower. He got the house from his wife, the daughter of owner of house 25. (See pl. 5b.)
27. Owner, F., Summer. With husband, Winter, and two daughters. She got the house from her mother's parents, Summer people. These old people had adoptive children (Gen. III, 36, 38, 41), but their house was left to their own grandchild.
28. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Summer before marriage, three children, of whom one is a widow with two children, and the son of a deceased daughter. The widowed daughter's husband was Winter. Owner got the house from his father.
29. Owner, M., Summer. Brother to owner house 28, and he, too, got the house from his father.
30. Owner, M., Summer. Owner of house 28. He bought this house.

31. Owner, F., Summer, before marriage. With husband, Summer, and child. She got the house from her parents.
32. Owner, F., Summer, before marriage. With husband, Summer, widowed daughter and her two children, and one son.
33. Owner, M., Winter, Badger. Winter chief, *oyike sendo*. Widower, with daughter and son-in-law (Tewa of First Mesa, accounted Winter), and their three children, and four children of his deceased brother and sister-in-law. He got the house from his father. His deceased wife was Winter before marriage.
34. Owner, M., Winter. With wife, Summer, and two children. He got the house from his father.
35. Owner, M., Summer. *Nambé kossa sendo*. With wife, Summer before marriage, and two children. Another daughter is married to an Apache at Dulce. His wife is the mother by her first husband, Summer, of the woman in house 34.
36. Owner, F., Summer, before marriage. Widow, with four children. She got the house from her deceased husband, Summer.
37. Owner, M., Vitoriano Sisnero, Summer. With wife, Polonia Herera, a Summer woman from Tesuque, and one child by his first wife.
38. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Winter, and three children. He got the house from his mother's father, and added to it.
39. Owner, M., Winter. Widower. With his unmarried sister and his six children.
40. Vacant. Owner, M., Summer. He has married among the Ute, but in 1922 he spent a year in this house with wife and child. He got the house from his mother's father.
41. Owner, M., Winter. With second wife, Summer, and her three children by her first husband.
42. Owner, M., Winter. With wife, Winter before marriage, and child. He got the house from his father.
43. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and five children (Gen. III, 36, 37, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79). Wife was Summer before marriage. He got the house from his father.
- 43a. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and child, also with three children by her first husband. Owner is brother of owner of house 43. He got the house also from his father, i.e., one house had been divided between the two sons.
44. Owner, M., Winter. With second wife, Winter before marriage, and their six children, and two children of a deceased daughter by his deceased first wife, and his son-in-law. He got the house from his mother.
45. Owner, F., Summer before marriage. With husband, Summer, and two adult sons. She got the house from her mother. Her husband is Summer chief, *payoke sendo*, and this is the house his group uses ceremonially.



Houses 10, 11, 12. Santa Clara. Winnowing.



Houses at Santa Clara.

46. Owner, M., Summer. With his second wife and child and two children from his deceased first wife (Gen. III, 14, 15, 51-53). He got the house from his mother.
47. Owner, F., Winter before marriage. With husband, Winter, and granddaughter. She got the house from her father. She is the mother of Genealogy III, 40, and the granddaughter is his daughter by his first wife.
48. Owner, F., Summer, before marriage. Widow, with three children. She got the house, of which the larger part is in ruins, from her deceased husband, Summer.
49. Owner, F., Summer before marriage. Widow, with two children. Deceased husband was Summer.
50. Owner, F., Summer. She was Winter before marriage. Widow, with one son.
51. Owner, M., Summer. With wife (Winter) and three children. He is the son of owner of house 50.
52. Owner, M., Summer. He is the son of the woman owner of house 36. He sleeps here. He is planning to marry, and the house is being rebuilt. He got it from his father, before his father died.
53. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Summer before marriage, and two children. He got the house from his mother.
54. Owner, F., Summer. Widow, always childless. From Cochiti. Deceased husband was Summer.
55. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and three children (Gen. III, 9, 10, 44-5, 47).
56. Owner, F., Winter, before marriage. Her mother was sister to Genealogy III, 8, so she is *ki'i* to Genealogy III, 36, 38, 41. With son, and two grandchildren, "given" her by her married daughter. Her deceased husband was Winter.
57. Owner, M., Winter. Widower (Gen. III, 3), *oke kossa sendo*.
58. Owner, M., Winter. He was Summer, "but when he got sick after he was big he changed to Winter." With wife, Winter before marriage, and three children and one grandchild, given by married daughter. He built the house on land given to him by his mother.
59. *Bu'ge te'e*. In a hole, kiva, i.e., subterranean (in part) kiva. It belongs to the Summer people. (See pl. 9a.)
60. Owner, M., Summer (Gen. III, 39). Separated from wife. With sister's son. He is brother to owner of house 58. He got his house from his mother.
61. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, Summer before marriage, and son. Two married daughters live away. He is the oldest brother of owners of houses 58, 60, 62. He is *papufona sendo* and the group meet here, his wife removing to house 62. He got his house from his mother, i.e., her house was divided between the oldest brother and another brother. To the two other brothers of the four she gave land. This old lady died in 1922, at the age, it was said, of 102. (See pl. 9a.)

62. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, a Summer woman from San Juan, and six children. He is brother to owners of houses 58, 60, 61. He built the house on land given him by his mother.
63. Owner, M., Winter. With Mexican wife and seven children. He bought the house.
64. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and four children (Gen. III, 60, 61, 89, 91-3).
65. Vacant. Owner, M., Winter. He is married to a white woman, in Albuquerque. He is brother to the owner of house 63. He built this house.
66. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, an Osage, and two orphaned grandchildren and a boy given to him from Pojoaque, half Mexican.
67. Vacant. Owner, M., Winter. Married to a Navaho. He built this house.

San Ildefonso¹¹⁵

The following data in list A are in large part unreliable. My informant would not take the trouble to recall the membership of the several households nor the exact relationships of the persons he did mention. For example, when I remarked at the conclusion of the list-making that no old women, no *saiya* or grandmothers, were included, "We have no *saiya*," said he, "they have all died off," a form of prevarication usual in reference to sacerdotalists whose existence is to be concealed, but more open to challenge in the case of old women, as was evident when the *saiya* in my man's own family was encountered in town. This was Tsehta, whom he had mentioned in another connection, but not in the house list. The distribution of houses according to moiety is probably reliable in outline, it corresponds in general to the distribution given by another informant. The references to clanship affiliations are entirely unreliable. In all cases but one (house 3), husband and wife are said to belong to the same clan.¹¹⁶ I incline to think that my informant knew few if any of the clan affiliations of his neighbors and fabricated at pleasure. As fabrication, however, the clan affiliations he gives are of interest, for fabrication itself shows social pattern. For example he specifies only four clans,

¹¹⁵ See pl. 10.

¹¹⁶ But see p. 83.



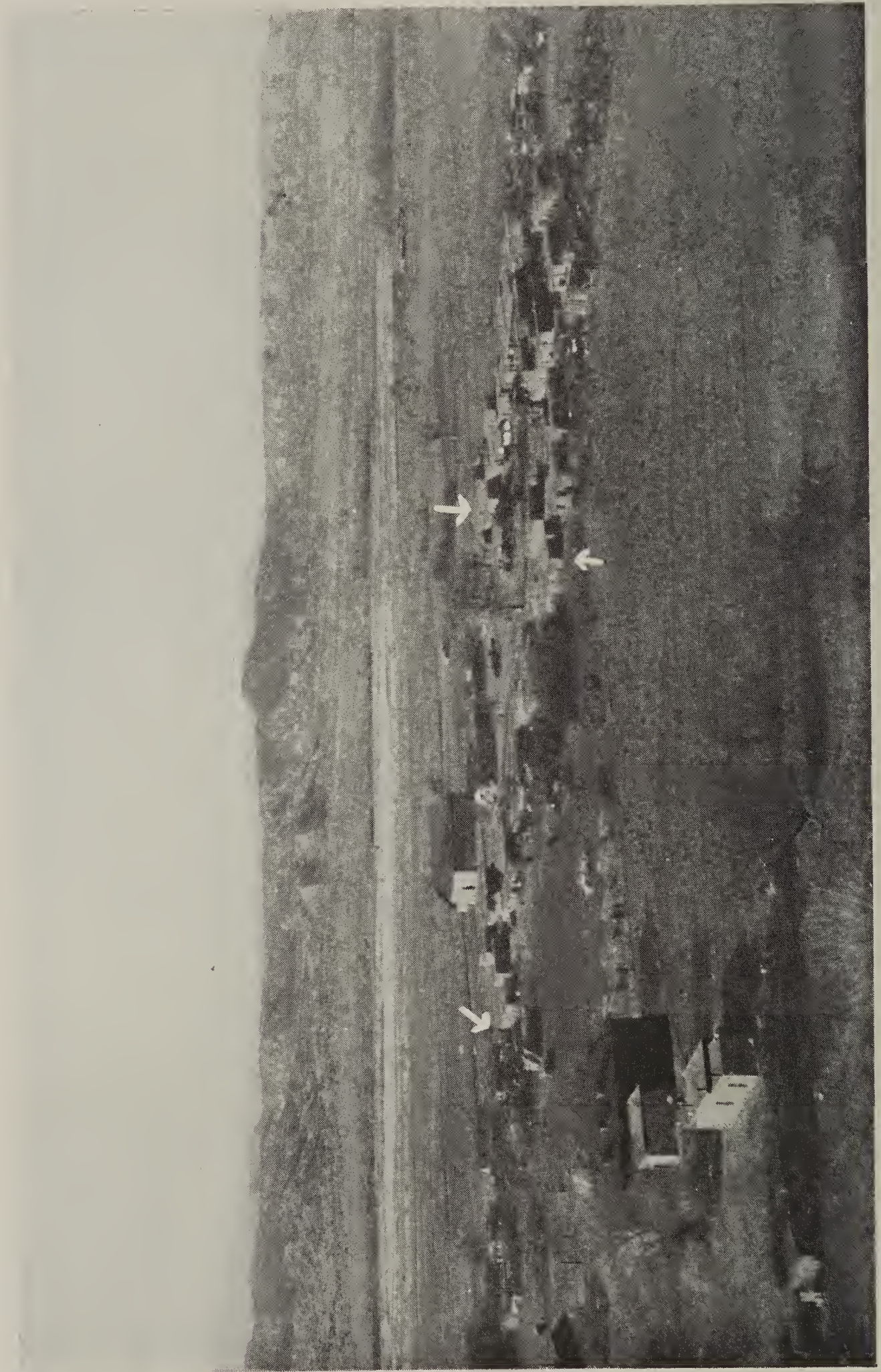
a

Kiva of Summer people, and house 61, of *papufonã sendo*. Santa Clara.



b

Kiva of Summer people. San Ildefonso.



San Ildefonso. The arrows point to the kivas. In background, the Rio Grande and the Jemez range.

Sun, Red stone, Grass, Turquoise, in contrast to the longer list of clans he gives in another connection; and the smaller number exemplified in the house list is probably more accurate. With the exception of Turquoise his house list clan enumeration is corroborated by the woman who was the source of information for list B. As for the references to Turquoise clan, I incline to think that the moiety only was being referred to. My informant was one impossible to pin down on such an ambiguity.

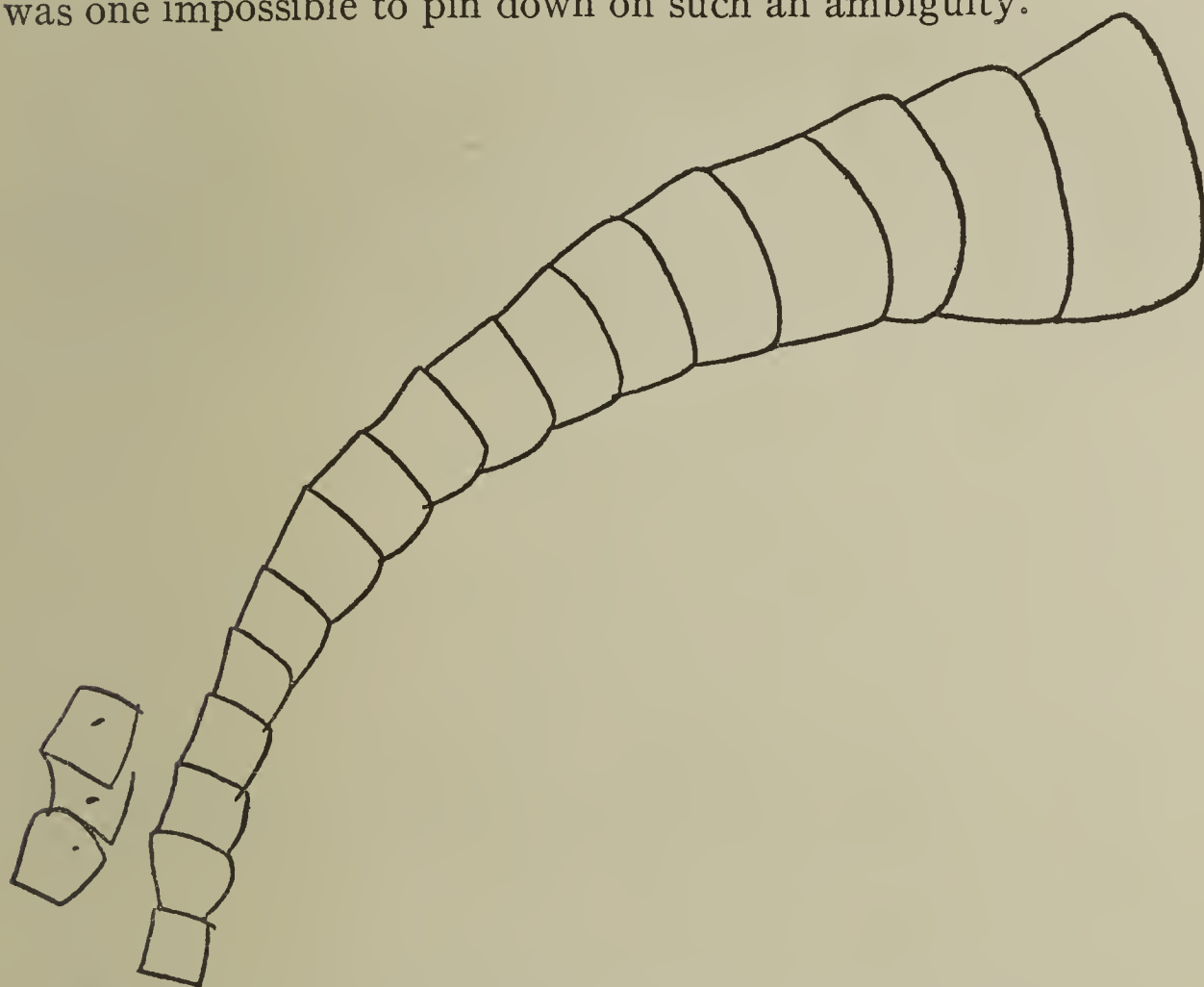


Fig. 1. First draft of map of houses. Made by a San Ildefonso townswoman.

When his house list is compared with the second house list of San Ildefonso, one is tempted to think that the whole of it is fabrication. Only two households can be identified in the two lists, house 15 (List A), with house 3 (List B), and house 22 (List A) with house 14 (List B), and the details even in these cases do not correspond.¹¹⁷ Differences in the personal names

¹¹⁷ In the first case we have very definite evidence of the untrustworthiness of the informant of List A since informant of List B was the inmate of house 3, list B.

of the two lists are in part explicable by the fact that the same person may have two or more names; but for the almost complete divergency in the names one must look for further explanation, I incline to think, in the inventiveness of the giver of List A. The giver of List B was excessively timid, but not inventive; and her list is the less unreliable. She had difficulty, however, in visualizing houses in mapping, as her first attempt at map making (fig. 1) indicates.

List A

1. *Pote'e*, Squash kiva, belonging to Summer people. (See pl. 9*b*.)
2. Owner, M., Agoyopin (Star mountain) or Santiago Alarides, Summer, Sun. Widower. He was mentioned by Benina of Nambé as the most influential man in San Ildefonso.
3. *Pendi te'e*, Outside kiva, belonging to Winter people. (See pl. 11*a*.)
4. Owner, M., Kenyo (Mountain-lion), Summer, Grass. Aged widower, *Tewa pufona seno*, with aged daughter who never married, Summer, Grass.
5. Owner, F., Voyo, Summer, Sun. With husband, Kydo, Summer, Sun, and one son.
- 5a. Inserted as an afterthought as the house of Summer chief.
6. Owner, F., Hütse (Yellow cedar), Summer, Grass. With husband, Tanyitsire (Parrot bird), Summer, Grass; two daughters, two sons.
7. Owner, M., Kaw'ewi (Leaf kick-stick), Summer, Sun. With wife, G'uhpitsawe, Red stone zigzag, Summer, Sun.
8. Owner, F., Katsire (Leaf bird), Winter, Turquoise. With husband, Pimpeta (Painted mountain prayer-stick), Winter, Turquoise.
9. Owner, M., Tsekø, Winter, Turquoise. Widower. He got the house from his deceased wife.
10. Owner, F., Okuwasawe (Cloud zigzag), Winter, Red stone. With husband, Pota (Painted squash), Winter, Red stone, and two children. Pota is *samaïyo*.¹¹⁸ Okuwasawe got the house from her mother.
11. Owner, F., Eyia (Abalone shell), Winter, Red stone. With husband, Tanyisawe (Parrot zigzag), Winter, Red stone, and three children.
12. Owner, F., Tetsetse, Winter, Turquoise. With husband, Kwió (Ditch) Winter, Turquoise, and five children.
13. Owner, M., Ta'e, Winter, Red stone. With wife, Tutsauwe, Blue basket, Winter, Red stone, and five children.
- 13a. Inserted as an afterthought as the house of the informant. This house was probably fabricated to conceal the fact that the informant lived in no. 14a or 14b.

¹¹⁸ See p. 135.



a

Outside kiva of Winter people. San Ildefonso.



b

Houses 14a, b, probably kiva of Winter people. San Ildefonso.
Note sacred hill in background.



a

Houses 14a, b, south side. San Ildefonso.



b

House 9 (?). Tesuque.

14. Owner, M., Akqtsire (Outside bird), Summer, Grass. With wife, Wækatsauwe (Blue pine), Summer, Grass, and three children. He got the house from his father, of house 6, who built it for him.
- 14a. Inserted as an afterthought as the house of Winter chief. It was stated that on taking office Winter chief and Summer chief move into the three-room house in connection with each kiva.
- 14b. This building was passed over. It is, presumably, Turquoise kiva of the Winter people. (See pls. 11*b*, 12*a*.)
15. Owner, M., Potsire (Water bird, snipe), Summer, Sun. With wife, Sæyo (Harvest), Summer, Sun, and four children. He inherited the house from his father.
16. Owner, F., Pætse (Yellow deer), Winter, Red stone. With husband, Koheta (Painted humming-bird), and two children. She inherited the house from her mother.
17. Owner, M., Tuyop'in (the Black mesa), Winter, Red stone. Old man, living alone. He got the house from his parents.
18. Owner, F., Yanka (Willow leaf), Summer, Grass. With husband, Tsikomó, Summer, Grass, and five children. She got the house from her grandfather.
19. Owner, M., Wiyo, Winter, Turquoise. With wife, K'otse (Yellow buffalo), Winter, Turquoise, and four children. He got the house from his father.
20. Owner, F., AgoyosaꞤwe (Star zigzag), Summer, Grass. With husband, Potsæ (Snow white), Summer, Grass, and two children. She got the house from her grandmother.
21. Owner, F., Tapowi (Sun flower), Summer, Grass. With husband, Pu'e (Rabbit), Summer, Grass, and six children. She is the daughter of family in house 20.
22. Owner, F., TatasꞤwe (Sun mark zigzag), Summer, Sun. With husband, Teyere (Cottonwoods), Summer, Sun, and one child. She got the house from her mother.
23. Owner, F., Tsiguwenupokwî (Lightning lake), Summer, Grass. With husband, K'unætá (Turquoise painting), Summer, Grass, and three children. She got the house from her grandmother.
24. Owner, M., Taping, Winter, Turquoise. Widower, living alone, a Fire *pufona*.¹¹⁹
25. Owner, F., Kqtse (Corn tassel), Winter, Red stone. With husband, Tenyo (Pine), Winter, Red stone, and five children. She got the house from her father.
26. Owner, M., Waiyemo, Summer, Sun. With wife, Ko'oyegi, Summer, Sun, and one child. He got the house from his father.
27. Owner, F., Kayepokwî (Spirit lake), Summer, Grass. With husband, Kwæe (Drizzle) Summer, Grass, and three children. She got the house from her mother.

¹¹⁹ See p. 122.

List B

1. Pote'e, Squash kiva, kiva belonging to Summer people (*kaye towa*).
2. Owner, M., Wæpi (tail red, i.e., Hawk) or Placido Sanchez, Summer, Red stone. With wife, Kanotse, Summer, Sun, and four children. He built this house. He is *kwirano sendo*.
3. Owner, F., Sáyopowi (Cactus flower), Summer, Red stone. With husband, Potsire (Water bird), Summer, Sun, and four children (Gen. IV, 7, 8, 15-18). She got the house from her mother.
4. Owner, F., T'abi (Sun turns round), Summer (before marriage), Grass. With husband, Agoyo (Star), Summer, Red stone, and a boy (son of an old woman related to Agoyo), Okuhwape (Kachina prayer-stick), Winter, Red stone. T'abi got the house from her father.
5. Owner, M., Tsæ, Summer, Red stone. With wife, Summer, Grass, from San Juan, and one child, Kwatsire, Summer, Red stone, because mother is from San Juan.
6. Owner, F., Powi (Flower), Summer, Sun. Widow. With her lives a boy who is no relation, Powotse, Summer, Sun. She got the house from her deceased husband.
7. Owner, M., Nanatsire (Cotton wood bird), Summer, Grass. Widower, living alone.
8. Owner? Wife, Pobitsa'wa, Summer, Grass. Husband, Okuwahmona (Mixed kachina), Summer, Sun. One son, Waching, Summer, Grass. Her first husband was Tæ, Winter, Sun.
9. Owner, F., Tsehta, Winter, Grass. Widow, with grandson, Poping (Squash mountain) or Agapito Pina who is the Winter chief (*oyike seno*), also *kossa seno*. He is Winter, Grass. His father was Tanipe¹²⁰ (Parrot prayer-feather) or Antonio Maria Pina, Winter, Grass.
10. Owner, M., Kayé (Spirit), Summer, Sun. With wife, Nanapowi (Cottonwood flower), Summer, Sun, and four children. He got the house from his grandfather.
11. Owner, F., Awase, Summer, Grass. With husband, Ye (Weasel), Summer, Sun, their two children, Tomasita and Popuma (Water, look), her father, Wape, Summer, Grass, and her mother, Po'ose, Winter, Red stone. She got this house from her father.
12. Owner, F., Kua, Winter, Red stone. Widow, with one son, Powose, Winter, Red stone. She got the house from her deceased husband.
13. Owner, M., Tseyima (Fallen spruce), Winter, Red stone. With wife, Juanita, Summer, Sun, and a boy, Koka, Winter, Red stone.
14. Owner, M., Poyege, Summer, Sun. With wife, T'ata (Sun mark), Summer, Sun, and son, Pəwæ Deer rain (Gen. IV, 5, 6, 14).
15. Owner, M., Tetse (Cotton, eagle), Summer, Sun. With wife, Ka'e, Summer, Sun, and son, Tsaba. Tetse is Summer chief (*payoke seno*). He was also referred to as Fire *pufona* chief.

¹²⁰ Given by son as Tanyipin, Parrot mountain.



b

Kiva, Nambé.



a

Houses 2 and 3. Nambé.

16. Owner, M., Teteeyi (Grandfather abalone), Summer, Sun (Gen. IV, 2). Widower, with granddaughter, Katse (Yellow leaf), Summer, Sun, unmarried, and son, Wiri, Summer, Sun.
17. Owner, F., Sepharina, Summer, Sun. With husband, G'uwire (Squirrel) or Juan Martinez, Summer, Sun. She got the house from her grandfather. (Gen. IV, 3, 4). G'uwire is a *kwirano*.
18. *Kware te'* called also *k'unæ te'* (Turquoise kiva), Winter people's kiva.
19. Owner, M., Tsihowæ, Summer, Sun. With wife, K'unæ (Turquoise), Summer, Sun, and son, Payotsire (Summer bird).
20. Owner? Husband, Okan°, Summer, Sun. Wife, Powika (Petal), Summer, Sun. Two children.
21. *K'unæ te'e*, Turquoise kiva. It belongs to the Winter people..

Nambé

1. M., Muaping (Dawn mountain) or Graviedo Trujillo, Weasel clan, Summer people, aged 60, with his sister's son, Sohuwatse (Mist eagle) or Antonio Mirabel, Grass clan, Summer people. Antonio's father was a Grass clansman. Muaping is a Bear man, i.e., *pufona*, also a *kwirana*.
2. F., Payo (Summer) or Lucy Ortiz Padilla, Red stone, Summer before she married a Winter person, then Winter, widow, (Gen. VI, 3), with two sons, Kahanye (Leaf shaking) or Fidil Padilla, Sand, Winter (Gen. VI, 11), who was married to a Mexican who left him; and Hopeanye (Waving corn prayer-feather) or Rumaldo Padilla, Sand, Winter (Gen. VI, 13), who works in Colorado. He is "left-hand man" to the Winter chief. (See Pl. 13b.)
3. M., Pahpobitsæ (White jucca flower) or Pitasio Peña, Sand, Summer, married in 1925 to Bepobi (Fruit tree flower) or Benadita Peña, Turquoise, Summer. Her father was a Turquoise clansman of Laguna, who after his marriage to her mother, a Sand clanswoman, became a Sand clansman; both Summer. This woman's mother was a Mexican; her father was Mexican-Navaho,—Vihil, Sand, Summer, a brother of Antonio Vihil (house 14) and Lorretto Vihil (house 18). The family lives two miles out of town. Benedita will become a Sand clanswoman. With the young couple lives the young brother of Pitasio, Sohuwatsæ (White mist) or Celsu Peña, Sand, Summer. (See pl. 13b.)
4. M., Kutsæ (White corn) or Ines (Pimenio) Tafoya, Weasel (*ye* or *wiye*), Summer, and his sister, Tininipokwin (Olivella shell lake) or Wita Tafoya. Their mother was born at Pojoaque of an Isletan mother and father of Pojoaque. She was *t'un towa*, Basket clan. Kutsæ is Snake doctor.
5. F., Tātū (Sun basket) or Antonia Tafoya, Weasel (*wiye*), Summer, widow. She was a sister to the mother of Inez and Wita Tafoya (house 4), so her mother was Isletan, her father of Pojoaque, where she was born. In one connection she was said to be Basket clan, and did not

change to her husband's clan, which was Weasel. Her husband and the father of Inez and Wita Tafoya were brothers, i.e., two brothers married two sisters.—“We do that sometimes.” The husband of Antonia Tafoya used to be chief of Tewa *kossa* and she still keeps his sacrosanct things (“all his gods”).

6. M., Awipi (High mountain) or Agustin Vihil, Winter. He is “right-hand man” to Winter chief, if not, as is also said, actually Winter chief. In 1926, “right-hand man” to the governor.
7. F., Yətsey (Yellow willow) or Francisquita Tafoya, Red stone, Summer (before and after marriage); M., Tamutsæ (White dawn), Weasel, Summer, or Juan Tafoya, with young son. Juan Tafoya is brother to the Tafoyas of house 5. Francisquita got the house from her father, who was brother to Genealogy VI, 2. Yətsey makes the road for the kachina. See p. 167 and pl. 19.

Here also lives Camelita Peña, sister of Pitasio Peña (house 3-4). Francisquita Tafoya is their mother's sister. Camelita was married to a San Juan man who left her.

8. M., Ko'ping (Buffalo mountain) or Salvador Garcia, *Piyo* (Woodpecker), Winter. His father was from Abiquiu (*avexu*, Choke-cherry), and married into Nambé. Ko'ping is teased about being the only representative of his clan in Nambé. With him lives his daughter Pobitsa (New flower) or Pitoriana Garcia. Her son is in school. Ko'ping is a *kossa*; he is also “right-hand man” to Summer chief.
9. M., Muaanye (Dawn astir) or Alcario Peña, Weasel, Summer; F., Sahpahtu (Frost basket) or Porfilia Peña, Sand, Winter. With them live Porfilia's daughter by her first husband who was a Red stone clansman, Tsiguwenutu (Lightning basket) or Kahpitsawa (Blue budding leaf) or Josefita Anaiya, Squash, Winter, and Josefita's husband from Cochiti, Squash (Josefita took his clan), and their daughter, Kwa'apobi (Flower beads) and two other children. Porfilia's father was Tseyt'a (Yellow mark) or Francisco Anaiya, Sand, Winter. Tseyt'a was the last Winter chief of the Winter people.
10. F., Pɣwatsey (Look yellow) or Leonora Perez, Tobacco, Summer. She is married to a man from Cochiti whom she met at school. Her father was a Mexican, so she followed her mother's clan and moiety. Her mother, now deceased, was a *kwirana*. She would take meals to those in retreat, and her husband, Mexican though he was, allowed it. Pɣwatsey and her husband are at work in Santa Fé.
11. M., Pɣwatsæ (Look white) or Juan Antonio Mirabal, Grass, Summer. With him live his daughter, Oyitsawa (Blue ice) or Barbarita Garcia, her Mexican husband, and their three children. Oyitsawa is like a Mexican. Pɣwatsæ is the oldest man in town. He is a Bear man, the *pufona sendo* or chief. He is also a *kossa*.
12. M., Poraninitsæ (White butterfly) or Juan Peña, Coyote, Summer; F., Tɔnpi (Sun come out) or Cecilia Peña, Coyote, Summer and their two young children. Cecilia Peña is the sister of Benadita Peña



a

East side houses, and wall of church enclosure. Tesuque.



b

Church at Tesuque.

- (house 3-4), so that her parents were, mother, Sun, Summer, father, Turquoise of Laguna, Summer. Cecilia took her husband's clan.
13. Kiva. (See pl. 13*a*.)
 14. M., Tehtseanye (Cottonwood eagle astir) or Antonio Vihil, Coyote, Summer; F., Kohetsawa (Blue humming bird) or Miliana Vihil, Coyote, Summer, and one daughter, Reyes. Before marriage Miliana was Winter, like her mother. Loretto Vihil (house 18) and Genealogy VI, 9 are the father's brothers of Antonio. Their mother was Mexican, their father a Navaho, captured and sold by Mexicans.
 15. F., Tamuoyege (Dawn frost) or Lupi Talachi, Sand, Winter; M., Sowuhatsire (Mist bird) or Tony Talachi, Mountain eagle, Winter, of San Juan; the children of Lupi by her first husband, brother of Antonio and Loretto Vihil, Tsehpuma (Eagle, look) or Tranquilin Vihil, Poyetseh (October yellow) or Brigida Vihil, Tapokwin (Elk lake) or Ramoncita Vihil, Tapetsæ (White sun prayer-feather) or Henricus Vihil, Anyopokwi (Salt lake) or Dolorita Vihil; and her children by her second husband, Kahwipi (Leaf between mountains) or Maximinio Talachi, Mountain eagle, Winter, Tsehkahanye (Waving spruce leaf) or José Reyes Talachi, Mountain eagle, Winter, Wiyopokwin (Gap lake) or Elise (Alice) Talachi, Mountain eagle, Winter.
 16. F., Tenyosawi (Pine zigzag) or Perfecta Tafoya, Grass, Summer; and her fatherless son Agoyope (Star prayer-feather) or Ricardo Tafoya, Grass, Summer; and daughter, Pawasawi (Fire, gap, zigzag) or Delaila Tafoya, Grass, Summer. This house belonged to the deceased Summer chief who was uncle to Tenyosawi. In it is the ceremonial room for solstice observation.
 17. M., Yantsire (Willow bird) or Marcos Tapia, *pohun* clan, Summer; F., Tahpokwin (Elk lake) or Santana Tapia, *pohun*, Summer, and their adult son, Tanye (Moving sun) or Vicente. Tahpokwin was Summer before marriage; but she joined her husband's clan; her own clan is not recorded. She is a *kwirana*. The mother of Yantsire was Mexican, his father was from Pojoaque.¹²¹

In Pueblita los Vihilos¹²²

18. M., Tseapi (Eagle, white deposit, mountain) or Loretto Vihil, Sand, Summer, widower, with daughter. His mother was Mexican, his father Navaho. K'upit'u (Red stone basket) or Juanita and her husband Archileita, Summer, *tsehta*, of San Juan. Another daughter, Tsiguwen't'u (Lightning basket) or Aristo, is at work in California. Tseapi is left-hand man of the Summer chief. In 1926 he was governor.
19. F., Ohuwa'tsey (Yellow cloud) or Octabiana Trujillo, *pohun*, Summer, widow, with son T'upe (White clay prayer-stick) or M., Mawæta (Hand ?, thistle, mark) or Ufrasio Trujillo, *pohun*, Summer. The

¹²¹ Cf. Harrington, 2, 336.

¹²² This settlement of kindred is about a mile from the town.

deceased father of Mawæta was *pohun*. Ohuwa'tsey is the sister of Tseapi's deceased wife. In 1926 Mawæta was left-hand man to the governor.

20. M., Tse'pe (Eagle prayer-feather) or Antonio Trujillo, *pohun*, Summer, son of Ohuwa'tsey of house 19; F. Tsiguwenumuahet'u (Lightning dawn coming basket) or Josefita, *pohun*, Summer.
21. Puraniniane (Flying butterfly) or Juan Peña Vihil, Weasel (*wiye*), Summer. He was unfathered, his mother's name was Peña, his stepfather's, Vihil. F., Payopobi (Summer flower) or Savilita, Weasel (*wiye*), Summer. She is grand-niece to Loretto Vihil, daughter of his brother's daughter.

Tesuque

1. M., Kanuto, Winter; F. Maria, Winter ("she goes with her husband"), five children. House built by Kanuto at marriage.
2. M., Elia Suaso, Winter; F., Siveria (Sylveria) Duran, Summer. Her first husband was Summer. Three married daughters and three children at home, Juanita, Vicenta, Benito, Winter. ("They go with their father.") Suaso is father of Kanuto (House 1). Suaso built this house.
3. M., Senorio Romero. ("He goes both sides.") F., Tabiana, daughter of Elia Suaso of House 2. Six children: Miliana, Vihilia, Victoria, Janura, Manuela, José Maria. Romero built the house at marriage.
4. M., Candido Herera, Summer; F., Petra Alsuela, Winter. She was given to her grandmother who was Winter. Five children. Candido built the house.
5. M., Heñq Alsuela, Summer. Widower. Father of Petra of House 4. Probably the Summer Chief, Hinio Garcia.^{122a} See p. 117.
6. M., Benino Duran, Summer. F., Bimenia Vigil, Summer (before marriage). Five children. This is an old house which Benino bought.
7. F., Nifa, widow (moiety unknown). Mother of Candido of house 4. House vacant, she lives with a son in house 9.
8. M., José La Cruz Herera, Summer. Son of Encarnacion Herera (house 13). F. Jesusita Suaso, Winter. Her first husband was Winter. Her father and Elia Suaso of house 2 were brothers. Two children. José built this house.
9. M., Basilio Herera, Summer, brother of Candido of house 4. F., Enofri Sacumbe, Winter, (married 1924). House belongs to Nifa (see house 7). (See pl. 82b)
10. M., Casio Padilla of Santa Clara, Winter, widower, childless, lives alone. Got house from deceased wife.

^{122a} Possibly, Cesaria Garcia, Sandstorm wall woman or chief of the woman's society (see p. 141) is his mother. Possibly, also Cesaria is the mother of Cesarita of house 24.



Tesuque family (house 24).

11. F., Cirina Suaso, Winter. Sister to Elia Suaso of house 2. Her husband, Santo, Summer, is in Gallup, crazy. One son, Francisco, adoptive, given her by her brother. Francisco is brother to Jesusita of house 8.
12. M., Ysabel Padilla ("goes both sides.") Son of Benita Romero of house 25. F., Sevia Herera, Summer. Daughter of Encarnacion (house 13).
13. M., Encarnacion Herera. Summer. Brother to Candido Herera of house 4. F., Ramona, Winter. They are parents of José (house 8), Sevia (house 12), and Lucaria (house 15). Three children at home. Also Jofilo, father of Ramona. By his first wife E. Herera has two daughters, married into Santa Clara—Dominga (Gen. III, 37)^{122b} and Polonia (house 37).
Old house, rebuilt by Encarnacion.
14. Vacant. Belongs to Nifa of houses 7, 9. She got it from her deceased husband.
15. M., Julio Beita, Winter. F., Lucaria Herera, Summer. Daughter of Encarnacion (house 13).
16. M., Juanito Sacumbé, Winter. Father of Enofri of house 9. F., Rosa Suaso, Winter. Sister of Jesusita of house 8. Four children. House bought by Juanito.
17. F., Luisa Duran, Winter, widow. Mother of Rosa of house 16 and of Jesusita of House 8. Sister of Severia of house 2 and Benino of house 6. Three adult children at home. She got the house from her deceased husband.
18. Vacant. Belongs to Luisa of house 17. Given by her mother.
19. M., Martin Vigil ("goes both sides.") F., Catalina Suaso. Winter. Daughter of Elia Suaso of house 2. Son Elia and two other children.
20. Vacant. Belongs to Kanuto of house 1.
21. Kiva of Winter people.
22. M., Juan de la Cruz Padilla ("goes both sides.") Son of Benita Romero of house 25. F., Maria Domingas, Summer. One child who will go both sides. Juan got the house from his mother. (See pl. 14a)
23. M., Merce Vigil ("goes both sides.") F., Nifa Suaso, Winter. Daughter of Elia Suaso of house 2. One son Merce. Vigil got the house from his mother, Francisquita Romero of house 26.
24. F., Cesarita Vigil ("goes both sides"), Weasel(ye). M., Juan Jesus Pino, Summer, Redstone. He is from San Ildefonso. Five children. See pl. 15. He is right-hand man to the Summer chief; also *tema kossa* chief. His daughters Maria and Juanita are right-hand and left-hand to the Sandstorm wall woman. See p. 141.

^{122b} At Santa Clara, Dominga is said to be a Sun Clanswoman. Inferably her father at Tesuque, Encarnacion Herera, is Sun; also Candida (house 4), José (house 8), Basilio (house 9), Sevia (house 12), Lucaria (house 15), Marcello (house 25).

25. F., Benita Romero ("goes both sides.") Thrice married. M., Marcello Herera, Summer, brother of Candido of house 4. Benita bought the house.
26. F., Francisquita Romero ("goes both sides.") Mother of Merce Vigil of house 23, and sister to Benita Romero of house 25. M., Juan Trujillo, Summer, from Cochiti.
27. M., Tomas Duran, Winter. Brother to Benino of House 6. Tomas is lame. With him live his two unmarried sisters, Catalina and Francisquita, both Summer. Possibly Tomas is also known as Tomas Suaso (Poyota or Tamutsire), the Fire *pufona* and the *tewa kossa* chief.
28. Summer people's kiva. "Out of repair, not much used, house 5 (? the house of the Summer chief) is used instead.

SICKNESS AND WITCHCRAFT: DEATH PRACTICES

San Juan

As elsewhere, sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft. Witches (*chuge*) send something into the body. They make a figure of rags.¹²³ When the doctors (*pu'fona*) go out to chase the witch, they capture this doll. Further details were not available from Rosita,¹²⁴ who quite plainly did not like to talk about witches or to turn her attention to them, "I never see them, I never think about them. When I feel scared, I sit very still. When you feel scared, *chuge* are around." Witches have *pinqde* (magic power).¹²⁵ Witches send wind to drive away the rain.¹²⁶ Witches "walk as fire." In a Nambé folk tale the witch is the Summer chief, and on the dance day he makes bad weather so the people would get sick.

Sickness or death may be caused by death scare. A story was told of how when the men were excavating at Puyé¹²⁷ the foot of a digger was caught by one of the dead who said, "Don't take me from this ground." The digger got scared, he jumped

¹²³ Cf. Dumarest, 158, 165. See pp. 124-5, 305.

¹²⁴ But see p. 67, 123, 225.

¹²⁵ For the ubiquitous use of this term, see Parsons, 4, 19, n. 5.

¹²⁶ See p. 301.

¹²⁷ *Puyé* is a "sleepy bird." You sing the song of *puyé* as a lullaby, when you are swinging the baby to sleep. You tell *Puyé* to come and peck at his eyes and nose. "*Puyé* has come!" people say of a sleepy person. Also bird of omen, see p. 138.

out and said, "I don't know who is talking to me underground." He got sick and died. "This is not a story," added Rosita, "this the truth." She went on to say that white people had paid a lot to San Ildefonso men to take out dead people at Puyé. The bones talked to them, "Don't take me out," they would say. That is why they have been dying at San Ildefonso. A kinswoman at Nambé was sick. Word came one Tuesday to my San Juan informant. "May be she sick because she got scared," he commented. The preceding Saturday a Nambé girl had died in childbirth, the sick woman who was her *nana* (uncle's wife) had been fond of her.¹²⁸ See pp. 65, 237 for the ritual precautions taken against sickness from the dead.

In case of a difficult childbirth the *pu'fona* are always called upon. I heard of a case during my visit of a woman whose labor was protracted, lasting twenty-four hours. The child died. The *pu'fona* had been summoned.

At death the head is laid to the east, as in the grave. Therefore some persons will not sleep with their head to the east. "When I die," they say, "they put me *tampiye*, to the east, so now I better lie to the west (or south or north)." An adobe brick is used to pillow the head of the corpse. At the graveyard (*penibege*, dead, round) the brick is broken up and cast away. This pillow of adobe is not used for infants, who are placed on a table. The corpse is dressed in best clothes and carried to the graveyard in a blanket. At death the *ki'i* (father's sister or kinswoman) is sent for, and she it is who dresses the corpse. The night of the death all the relations (*matui'i*), paternal and maternal, have come and stayed up all night.¹²⁹ Four nights later they come to the house and eat.¹³⁰ At this time, too, food is thrown to the fetich stone animals of the household.¹³¹ "Some-

¹²⁸ See p. 266n. 494. for the fate of the husband who desired his deceased wife to return.

¹²⁹ Cf. Dumarest, 186.

¹³⁰ See pp. 65, 68.

¹³¹ Probably, I infer from Cochiti practice (cf. Dumarest, 167), in order that the *kaye* may protect the deceased on his journey.

body is dead," the woman says, and throws food to the *kaye*. A bowl of cooked food from the funerary feast is taken out for the deceased, by some relations, and left in a field, in any direction. Only the left hand is used. No feathers are given to the deceased, unless he is *patowa*, i.e., a ceremonialist. The deceased is addressed: "Here is food for you. Do not be mean to people here, do not come around." Or again, "When you were here you had a good time. Now you do not belong here, you belong to *oxuhwa*, to *kaye*.¹³² Whether you become *kayapowaha*¹³³ or *kayatsa^uwe* or *kayatseyi* or *kayapi* or *kayatsə* or *kayanqhu* or *kaya təməgi*,¹³⁴ from the mountains and hills you have to help your people." This reference identifies the dead, as they are identified elsewhere,¹³⁵ with the Cloud beings. The Keresan term *shipapu*,¹³⁶ the underworld to the north to which the dead return unless they go to *wenima*, the underworld in the west, appeared unfamiliar to my informants, together with the common Pueblo concept of a future life under ground or water. And yet in the folk-tales persons may go to live under a lake.¹³⁷

"Do not remember us," the dead are also admonished. "Even when you are moving about, we do not need to hear you. Go away from here." A line is marked with the foot on

¹³² Another remark to the dead is:

ūbiha	makore	wopiye	na	kehapiwe	wosoge
your heart	sky	take up	where	not tired	sit down

¹³³ The messenger or warrior *oxuwa* or *kachina* bringing heavy rains (see p. 269). These, I inferred fairly directly, were constituted, as at Zuñi, by those who had been ceremonialists in life. Yet Rosita said she had heard that the light rains were old men and women who "could not work hard". . . . In another account all the dead are described as *powaha*.

¹³⁴ Blue Spirit, yellow, red, white, dark, all colors.

¹³⁵ Dumarest, 173-4; Parsons, 13, 87, n. 2.

¹³⁶ Sounded *tsipohpenu* at Nambé. Had I used this pronunciation which I was late in learning, at San Juan, possibly my informants might have recognized the term.

¹³⁷ See, too, pp. 68, 302.

the ground,¹³⁸ and the foot drawn along it four times. According to another, four lines are marked with a stick, the marker facing east and drawing the lines north and south. This is a boundary for the dead, "meaning a mountain or hill which is not to be crossed." If funeral ritual is slighted, for one who has died in battle as well as in ordinary life, the spirit returns to haunt the living.¹³⁹ "This is the last time we are going to give him food," says a man's widow in a San Juan folk-tale, "so he wont come back again, even when we sleep, and we wont dream of him." In another tale the spirit of a woman who died in childbirth and for whom they did not "make four days" visits the camp of some hunters to cook for them and finally pursues them, as they run away in terror. One of the old men says to them, "You have to make four days. When that girl died, we did not make four days, so she came." So they cooked and called in their relatives. "By making those four days they took all the scare away from those boys."

A spirit or ghost is described as "like wind"; of the deceased it is said he became "a kind of wind," or "they could not see him, he was a kind of wind." At death a person loses his heart. "He died, he had no heart," says the story-teller. "Now you have no heart" is a remark addressed to the deceased in the fourth night exorcism as described in the folk-tales.

Before the corpse is taken out, it is *not* sprinkled with water or meal, as elsewhere; but at the grave the Catholic priest sprinkles water on the corpse from the vessel of the *sakritan*. After the corpse is carried from the house, all clean house and fumigate by burning a root called *hynka*, which is also for fumigation in sickness.¹⁴⁰ Four days after death all clothes, blankets, etc., are washed. On returning to the house after

¹³⁸ By the Hopi and Tewa of First Mesa the trail between house and grave is closed with charcoal, four parallel lines are drawn in four places. Compare Nambé usage on All Souls' day, p. 430.

¹³⁹ Cf. Dumarest, 170; Parsons 4: 24-25, 27.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Dumarest, 153, 154. See p. 256.

making the funerary food offering to the dead, the bearers circle the house four times anti-sunwise and entering the house exclaim *iwa'yiwe!* to be alive (? live long!)

Santa Clara

After death the head is laid to the east, as in burial, but people do not mind sleeping in this position. At death or before, the relatives are summoned. They watch all night, and they are given two meals, also breakfast. Mexicans are also invited, to sing. The deceased's best clothes are put on; in case of an unmarried person, imitation flowers are scattered over the body and laid around the head, and a white cloth is laid over the face. Neither meal nor water is sprinkled. A coffin is used. During the night before burial the house door is kept open. Everybody who comes contributes a candle, and the candles left over are placed in church. Everybody goes to the burial.

For four days, the room of death must not be left unoccupied. After four days everything—blankets, shawls, etc.—is washed in the river, where all the relatives also bathe, body and head. (At Wichepange the Mexicans similarly bathe in the river.) There is no fumigation of property nor are feathers put out for the dead. There are no potsherds within the graveyard next the church; but just outside the graveyard wall there are large sherds of the black ware in large number. Although I could get no information about this, I am tempted to infer that here was no mere refuse pile, but that the pottery had held offerings to the dead.

Eight days after the death, or in some cases on the anniversary, the priest is paid to say a mass.

San Ildefonso

The church faces south. Burials are made in the churchyard, which has of recent years been enlarged. As at Jemez or Zuñi there is no indication of graves.

Tesuque

Burials are north and south, head to the north. The church faces west. There are potsherds on the graves.

Nambé

At Nambé, as elsewhere, death may be due to witchcraft. Several years ago Dr. Spinden worked with a Nambé man at Santa Fé. One day the big toe of his informant showed a slight mark; within two or three days the foot and then the leg swelled badly. The man's wife took him back to Nambé, where in eight days he died—because he had been giving information, said his neighbors. But his widow has a different version of the affair. At Santa Fé a light had been seen by some Mexican neighbors to come to earth near the corner of the Nambé couple's house and then disappear—to Mexican and Pueblo always a sign of a witch abroad. "Maybe the light was some bad people at Tesuque wondering what we were doing." The mother-in-law of the deceased had still another explanation. Maybe the deceased himself was a witch—his mother and aunts were witches¹⁴¹—and the fatal thing he had sent against somebody had been turned back against himself.

The kinswomen of this man had been charged with an epidemic. They were caught making dolls, packing their stomachs with chili seeds, dirt, and rags to make the people cough. They changed into cats and dogs to go to their nefarious factory where they retransformed into human beings. They also boiled the flesh of the children they had killed after exhuming them from their graves.¹⁴² This idea that witches haunt graveyards as well as all the other witch notions expressed in this account of a specific witch case are familiar throughout the pueblos.¹⁴³

The dead (*powqha*) are fed at every meal, before eating, by

¹⁴¹ See pp. 304 ff.

¹⁴² See pp. 304, 305.

¹⁴³ Parsons, 10; Parsons 19.

dropping crumbs, and there is a general offering on All Souls' day. (See pp. 169, 170, 236.) A San Juan man died in California where he had lived many years married to a white woman. But, as usual for any one who dies away from home,¹⁴⁴ on the fourth night they put out the funerary food for him. "We can't have him running about here," said his niece in Nambé. . . . The dead go to Sand lake, *Ohange pokwinge*, the Lake of Emergence, placed by one informant at Alamosa. "He has gone to *tsipohpenu*" is said of one who dies,¹⁴⁵ the reference being, of course, to the *shipapu* of the Keres. The dead become Cloud people (*oxuwah*). A very clear reference to this belief is given in the tale about the dancer who was incontinent, his mask sticking to his face.¹⁴⁶ "He had become *oxuwah* while he was still living."

No ceremonialist or society member (*patowa*) is buried in a coffin. The face of a Town chief (Summer chief or Winter chief) is blackened with a ribual sand called *poshy*. A cross within a circle is made with pollen on the top of the head. From the corpse to the door a road of pollen is made. Funerary ritual is performed by every society in its own house for its members. On the fourth night his society, as well as his kinsfolk, "have to feed him." For society members (*patowa*) the usual four days of mourning is lengthened to twelve days, during which there should be no noise in town, nor dancing. . . .¹⁴⁷ A bad ceremonialist is punished after death in Sand lake by having an oak stick pinned through his tongue or by being stood on a cliff side. Fear of such punishment keeps people from wanting to join the *patowa*. One who is vowed to the *kossa* or probably to any *patowa* and not initiated before death will be initiated after death, in the lake.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Parsons, 3, 52.

¹⁴⁵ See p. 64.

¹⁴⁶ See pp. 303.

¹⁴⁷ At Isleta after the death in December of ReyesZuñi of the Fathers, the Christmas dancing was curtailed, by the unwillingness to participate of persons who held there should be no dancing at all.

KINSHIP

Tewa kinship terms have been studied carefully by Harrington and by Freire-Marreco, and were it not for the cognate subject of clanship the data would call for no review or amplification. But clanship among the Tewa has been considered but slightly and, at that, misleadingly. Investigators have been satisfied to give merely lists of clans, unchecked by personal applications, and to assert lines of descent on second-hand evidence. But even at first hand the evidence is conflicting; in the minds of informants clanship is uncertain and negligible. Unaided by intensive study of kinship by the genealogical method, the subject of Tewa clanship was bound to remain obscure and perplexing. The following kinship data are presented therefore primarily as a basis for determination of clanship.

For ease of reference repetition in part of data already published is unavoidable and to the student of variation in kinship nomenclature, not amiss. Kinship nomenclature is variable among the Pueblos, not only from town to town speaking the same language, but within the same town. Family usage varies.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS

- ^dyiya*—(S. J.) mother
- jiya*—(S. C.)
- djiya*—(S. I.)
- tara, ta*—(S. J., S. I.) father
- tará*—(S. C.)
- saiya*—grandmother (S. J., N., father's mother)
- saiyá*—great-grandmother (S. C.)
- jiya (yiya, ia) kwiyo*—grandmother (S. C., S. I., N., mother's mother)
- t'et'e*—grandfather (S. J., N., father's father), great grandfather (S. C.)
- tásendo*—grandfather (S. C., N., mother's father)
- pápasaiya*—great-grandmother (S. J.)
- pápat'et'e*—great-grandfather (S. J.)
- kaiyé*—mother's older sister (S. J.)
- ka'ye*—mother's older sister (S. C.)
- ko'o*—mother's younger sister (S. J.); mother's sister (N.)
- ko'o'*—mother's younger sister (S. C.)

- ki'i*—father's sister, father's sister's daughter
meme—mother's brother, husband of *ki'i* (S. J.)
me'me'—uncle (N.), mother's or father's younger brother (S. C.)
t'onq—father's brother, father's brother's son (S. J.)
tynn—father's or mother's older brother (S. C.)
nabi é—"my child," reciprocal to all the foregoing terms
pa'are—older sister or brother (S. J.)
pa're—older sister or brother (S. C.)
ti'u—younger sister or brother
t'at'a—father's sister's son, mother's sister's son, husband of *ki'i*
matu'i'i—collateral kin, maternal and paternal, exclusive of uncles and aunts
sendo—husband ("old man") (S. C.)¹⁴⁸
kwiyo—wife ("old woman") (S. C.)¹⁴⁹
nana—wife of mother's brother
sa'i—(S. J.) female connection by marriage (desc.)
sa'e—(S. C., S. I.)
sai'iya (sai'i)—(N.)
soyingi—(S. J.) male connection by marriage (desc.)
soningi—(S. C., S. I.)
yakwiyo—mother-in-law
yasendo—father-in-law
ya'a—sister or brother of spouse

APPLICATION OF TERMS BY PERSONS CITED IN GENEALOGIES

^d*yiya* (S. J.), *jiya* (S. C.), *djiya* (S. I.), mother

Genealogy I

26>5: mother

Genealogy III

73>37: mother

Genealogy IV

16>7: mother

7>2a: *nabi yiya*, mother's older sister

tara, father

Genealogy I

26>6: father

Genealogy III

73>36: father

¹⁴⁸ *Nabi so* (S. I.). Also *bi t'owa*, his people.

¹⁴⁹ *Nabi t'owa*, my people (S. I.); see Parsons, 4, 65, for *nabi t'owa*, my husband (S. J.). Cf. Freire-Marreco, 270.

saiya, grandmother (S. J.), father's mother (N.)
saiyá, great-grandmother (S. C.)

Genealogy I

26>1: mother's mother

Genealogy III

38> mother of 1, mother of 2: great-grandmother

Genealogy V

12>2: father's mother

jiya kwijo, grandmother (S. C., S. I.)
ia kwiyo, mother's mother (N.)

Genealogy

38>2: mother's mother

73>7: father's mother

73>2: father's mother's mother

Genealogy VI

8>2: mother's mother

14-24>3: mother's mother

t'et'e, grandfather (S. J., S. I.) great-grandfather (S. C., T.)

Genealogy I

26>2: mother's father

Genealogy III

38> father of 1, father of 2: great-grandfather

73>1: father's father's father

Genealogy IV

16>2: mother's father, the reciprocal being *saiya e*

Genealogy V

12>1: father's father

tasendo, grandfather (S. C.); mother's father (N.)

Genealogy III

38>1: mother's father

73>8: father's father

73>1: father's mother's father

Genealogy VI

8>1: mother's father

pa'are, older sister or brother

Genealogy I

- 26>18, 24: older brother
 26>28: mother's sister's son, senior
 9>daughter of brother of 1: mother's brother's daughter
 11>5: mother's brother's daughter, senior
 26>19: wife of brother
 26>29: wife of mother's sister's son, senior
 59>62: adoptive older sister: actually father's sister's daughter

Genealogy III

- 76>73: older brother

Genealogy IV

- 1>2a: older sister
 2>3: older brother
 19>16: mother's sister's daughter

ti'u', younger sister or brother

Genealogy I

- 18>26: younger sister
 30>32: younger sister
 28>26: mother's sister's daughter, junior
 5>11: father's sister's son, junior
 19>26: husband's sister

Genealogy III

- 73>76: younger brother

Genealogy IV

- 2a>1: younger sister
 2>5: younger brother
 16>19: mother's sister's son
 9>16: sister's daughter, presumably because she is *ti'u'* to her older sister, no. 15.

kaiye', *kaye*, mother's older sister (S. J., S. C.)

Genealogy I

suppositious daughter of 39>32: mother's older sister

Genealogy II

- 54>19: mother's older sister

Genealogy III

- 38>5: mother's older sister

ko'o, mother's younger sister, mother's sister's daughter: mother's sister (N.)

The term is also applied loosely to paternal collaterals, father's sister and father's sister's daughter. The diminutive reciprocal is used, *ko'o'e*, although *nabi e* is used more commonly by the parent generation.

Genealogy I

- 27>7: mother's younger sister
- 77>39: mother's younger sister
- 26>daughter of brother of 1: mother's mother's brother's daughter

Genealogy II

- 46>23: mother's younger sister
- 46>15: mother's older sister. "He should call her *kaiyé*, but he says it is too hard."
- 47-52>19: father's sister. "They should call her *ki'i*, but they do call her *ko'o*."

Genealogy III

- 38>22: mother's sister's daughter, to whom the reciprocal is *ko'o'e*
- 38>13: mother's brother's daughter
- 13>38: father's sister's daughter
- 9>38: father's sister's daughter
- 45>38: father's father's sister's daughter

Genealogy IV

- 16>9: mother's younger sister
- 51>38: mother's father's sister's daughter
- 18>38: father's sister's daughter, to whom the reciprocal is *ko'o'e*
- 60>38: mother's mother's sister's daughter, to whom the reciprocal is *ko'o'e*

Genealogy V

- 16>4: mother's father's brother's wife, to whom the reciprocal is *ko'o'e*
- 7>Santana: ? mother's brother's wife. Santana called *sa'i* by 1, 2
- 19>Santana: ? mother's mother's brother's wife

Genealogy VI

- 14-24>5: mother's (older) sister

meme, mother's brother

Genealogy I

- 26>9: mother's brother
- 77>30: mother's brother
- 59>30: father's mother's brother's son

Genealogy II

47-52 > 24: husband of father's sister

Genealogy III

38 > 3: mother's brother (older)

38 > 9: mother's brother's son

38 > 20: mother's sister's son, to whom the reciprocal is *memqe*

73 > 3: father's mother's brother

Genealogy IV

7 > 3: father's older brother

16 > 3: mother's father's brother

16 > 10: husband of mother's sister

ki'i, father's sister, father's sister's daughter

The reciprocal is *nabi é*, except in application to cousin when the junior is called by personal name (see p. 78).

Genealogy I

5 > 3: father's sister

50 > 26: father's sister

70 > 39: father's sister

18 > 3: mother's father's sister

30 > 26: father's sister's daughter

32 > 26: father's sister's daughter

70 > 26: father's father's sister's daughter

64 > 26: father's mother's sister's daughter

Genealogy II

47-52 > 23: father's (younger) sister

Genealogy III

73 > 38: father's sister

73 > 43: wife of father's brother

Genealogy V

12 > 5: father's sister

t'qnq, father's brother, father's brother's son

The reciprocal is *nabi é*, except in application to cousin when the junior is called by personal name (see p. 79).

Genealogy I

50 > 24: father's brother

70 > 36: father's brother

59 > 50: father's brother's son

Genealogy III

47 > 11: father's brother

Genealogy IV

7>5: father's younger brother

me'me', uncle (N.)

Genealogy V

12>3: father's brother

Genealogy VI

14-24>7: mother's brother

nabi e', my child

This term appears to be used more commonly than the diminutive reciprocal. As elsewhere in Pueblo kinship nomenclature, there are no specific terms for son or daughter, and, as elsewhere, the age-sex terms,¹⁵⁰ my youth, *nabi enuké*, my maiden, *nabi anyoké*, may be used descriptively by parents. Son-in-law and daughter-in-law are addressed as *nabi e'*.

Genealogy I

1>26: daughter's daughter
 5>26: daughter
 9>26: sister's daughter
 26>50: brother's son

Genealogy II

13>47-52: brother's son or daughter

Genealogy IV

7>19: sister's son

matu'i'i, all but close relations, in both lines

"Immediate" relations, in direct line and uncles and aunts are *not* so referred to, but first cousins are, and other collaterals. Descendants from the same great-grandmother (*papa saiya*) are *matu'i'i*; descent from the same great-great-grandmother, "that's nothing."

Genealogy I

62>30: mother's mother's brother's son
 50>30, 36, 37: father's mother's brother's son
 50>39: father's mother's brother's daughter
 26>(not recorded) mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's sons

Genealogy II

44>35, 36: father's brother's son
 44>48: father's brother's daughter

¹⁵⁰ For a list of age-sex terms, see Henderson and Harrington, 11.

sa'i (S. J.) *sa'e* (S. C., S. I.) female connection by marriage (desc.)
nawi sa'i (*sa'e*), *our* "daughter-in-law," is the common descriptive reference.

Genealogy I

- 5>19: son's wife
 26>29: mother's sister's son's wife

Genealogy II

- 5>18: brother's wife
 1>18: son's wife

Genealogy III

- 38>4: (*sa'e jiya*) mother's brother's wife
 38>10: mother's brother's son's wife

yasen^do, father-in-law

Genealogy II

- 18>1: husband's father

yakwiyo, mother-in-law

Genealogy II

- 18>2: husband's mother

ya'a, sister or brother of spouse

Genealogy I

- 19>24: (*nabi ya'a*), husband's brother
 19>26: (*nabi ya'a*), husband's sister
 27>18, 24: (*nabi ya'a*), wife's brother
 26>Gen. II, 5: husband's brother
 27>28: wife's mother's sister's son
 27>30: wife's mother's brother's son
 27>32: wife's mother's brother's daughter

t'at'a, husband of *ki'i*

Genealogy I

- 26>8: husband of mother's sister
 28>27: husband of mother's sister's daughter
 30>27: husband of father's sister's daughter
 26>11, 14: mother's father's sister's son

Genealogy II

- 47-52>20: husband of father's sister

Genealogy III

- 73>41: father's brother

- 38>6: husband of mother's sister
 73>40: husband of father's sister

nana (S. J.) wife of mother's brother

This term is applied to the wife of any one you call *meme*. There is no reciprocal term to this; the personal name is used. For example, Genealogy I, 26 says of Genealogy I, 10, "she calls us by our names."

Genealogy I

- 11>1: wife of mother's brother
 26>10: wife of mother's brother
 59>31: wife of father's mother's brother's son

APPLICATION OF TERMS AT TESUQUE

(based in part^{150a} on relationships noted in list of households)

saiya

Miliana Romero (house 3) > Marina Saïs, father's mother

t'et'e

Son of Juan > Bonifacio Vigil, father's father

Son of Juan > father of Bonifacio Vigil, father's father's father

pa^are

Juan > Senorio Romero (house 3), older half-brother

Rosa Suaso (house 16) > Jesusita Suaso (house 8), older sister

tiu

Juan > Martin Vigil (house 19), father's brother's son

Tabiana Suaso (house 3) > Juan, (*tiuya*), husband's younger half-brother

Juan > Miliana Romero, etc. (house 3), children of half-brother

kaiyé

Juanita Suaso (house 2) > Luisa Duran (house 7), mother's older sister

Luisa Duran (house 17) > Juanita Suaso (house 2), sister's daughter

Luisa Duran (house 17) > Benito Suaso (house 2) sister's son

ko'o

Juan > Feliciana Saïs, ^{150b}mother's younger sister

^{150a} The personal applications of terms of our Tesuque informant, whom we shall refer to as Juan, to members of various households and to deceased relatives is given under his name.

^{150b} Widow of a Mexican, possibly herself a Mexican. As it is hard to find a wife in Tesuque, Juan wanted to marry a Mexican. They said he could not do so, so he married a Ute. Two Tesuque boys overheard him and his wife speaking Spanish, so they reported that he had married a Mexican. They wrote to him in Santa Fé that they would kill her. He said, if they did, he would marry another Mexican. However, he told his brother that his wife was not Mexican, but Ute. Then, in Tesuque "they were happy again."

Miliana Romero (house 3) > Nifa Suaso (house 23), mother's sister
 Juanita Suaso (house 2) > Cirina Suaso, father's sister
 Juan > Bimena Vigil (house 6), father's brother's daughter
 Rosa Suaso (house 16) > Juanita Suaso (house 2), father's brother's daughter, (also mother's sister's daughter)
 Miliana Suaso (house 3) > Feliana Saïs, father's mother's sister
 Son of Juan > Tabiana Suaso (house 3), father's brother's wife
 Son of Juan > Miliana Suaso (*ko'oé*), (house 3), father's brother's daughter

meme

Bimena Vigil (house 6) > father of Juan, father's brother
 Miliana Romero, etc. (house 3) > Juan, father's half-brother
 Jesusita Suaso (house 8) > Elia Suaso, father's brother
 Juanita Suaso (house 2) > Francisco Suaso (house 11), father's brother's son
 Elia Vigil (house 19) > Juan, father's father's brother's son
 Miliana Romero (house 3) > Merce Jr. (house 23), mother's sister's son

tunŋ

Rosa Suaso (house 16) > Elia Suaso (house 2), father's brother
 Jesusita Suaso (house 8) > Kanuto (house 1), father's brother's son

sa'i

Juan > Tabiana Suaso, wife of half-brother
 Juan > Catalina Suaso (house 19), wife of father's brother's son

primo (Sp. cousin)

Juan > Merce Vigil (house 23), (?)
 Juan > José L. C. Herera (house 8), Sevia Herera (house 12), (?)
 Juan > children of Cesarita Vigil (house 24) whom he calls *ko'o*

USE OF PERSONAL NAME INSTEAD OF KINSHIP TERM

Genealogy I

50 > 59: father's brother's daughter: junior
 26 > 30: mother's brother's son, junior
 26 > 32: mother's brother's daughter, junior
 59 > 70: father's mother's brother's son's son
 70 > 59: father's father's sister's son's daughter
 26 > 29: wife of brother's sister's son (desc.)
 26 > 31: wife of mother's brother's son
 11 > 17: husband of father's sister's daughter

Genealogy II

47 > 35: father's brother's son, senior
 47 > 46: father's sister's son, senior

Genealogy III

38 > 45: mother's brother's son's daughter

- 38>51: mother's brother's daughter's son
 38>89: mother's sister's son's son's daughter, to whom the
 reciprocal is *ko'o'e*
 73>82: father's brother's son, junior

USE OF KINSHIP TERMS OUTSIDE OF KINSHIP

As elsewhere in Pueblo circles, adoptive children use the same terms as the other children of their household. Genealogy I, 26 is bringing up her widowed brother's child, Carlina (Gen. I, 59), and Carlina calls her, mother, Carlina and Santana (Gen. 1, 62) calling each other *pa'are* and *ti'u*, "because they are in the same house." Genealogy I, 1, 2 brought up a great niece called Angelita, the grandchild of the sister of Genealogy I, 1. Angelita called Genealogy I, 1 *dyiya* and her daughter *pa'are*, and this nomenclature held into the next generation, for Genealogy I, 26 called Angelita *ko'o*. The son of Angelita calls Genealogy I, 26 *ko'o yiya*, Genealogy I, 26 calling him *nabi e*. Genealogy I, 1, 2 brought up in their household a captive Navaho boy called Pæño (Snake).¹⁵¹ Pæño called Genealogy I, 1, 2 *tara* and *dyiya*, and their daughter (Gen. I, 5) he called *ti u*, she calling him *pa'are*. A stepfather would be addressed as father, but referred to as *kwa tara* (S. J.), as, for example, in the family of the sister of Genealogy IV, 8, her three illegitimate children thus referring to her husband.

Any older man may be addressed as Father So-and-so, *ta* (*tara*) plus name. Thus the Summer chief of San Juan is called *ta Taño*. He is also called *tasendo* (father, old man), as are the Winter chief, *kwirano sendo*, the Hunt chief, and presumably the other chiefs.

Society members address each other as *ti'upa'are*.¹⁵² In other pueblos your introducer or initiator into a ceremonial group you address and refer to as father. This usage appears not to be in vogue among the Tewa. Not even the doctor who names a baby born under difficulty (see p. 119 .) is called father, as he would be most assuredly in other towns.

¹⁵¹ He died in youth.

¹⁵² See p. 145 for this term used reciprocally by the war gods in folk-tale.

USE OF PERSONAL NAME WITH KINSHIP TERM

Genealogy I

- 1>8: *soyingi* Kuñye, husband of daughter
 9>3: *dyiya* Pokwi, father's sister
 26>3: *saiya* Pokwi, mother's father's sister
 26>16: *nana* Sauwe, mother's father's sister's daughter

Genealogy II

- 47-52>10: *ta* Kwa^a, father's older brother
 47-52>13: *ta* Shiano (Donasiano), father's older brother
 47-52>15: *dyiya* Po'we, father's older sister
 47-52>16: *meme* Tsire, husband of father's sister
 47-52>5: *t'et'e* Ko'tse', father's brother, senior by twenty-eight years

Genealogy IV

- 16>10: *meme* Ina, husband of mother's sister

One Hupobi, Corn flower, of San Juan, was referred to as *iya* Hupobi, Mother Corn flower. She was the wife of an uncle (*meme*), and at San Juan female connections by marriage (*sai'i*) are commonly referred to thus or addressed, i. e., as Mother So-and-So.

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

In the Tewa nomenclature there is but little merging of direct and collateral kin, none in grandparent or parent generation; in the speaker's generation parallel cousins are addressed by the brother-sister terms, they may be described by the uncle-aunt diminutives. Cross-cousins use the uncle-aunt terms. Maternal and paternal kin are differentiated in the grandparent generation; they are differentiated also in the parent generation, but the terms for father's brother and mother's brother are used loosely, and often indiscriminately. In all of these particulars the Tewa system is more like the Taos system than any other. Again it is Taos-like in emphasis upon the principle of seniority. In stressing this principle to the exclusion of the principle of sex in the brother-sister terms, Tewa is unique in Pueblo nomenclature system.¹⁵³ Tewa is also unique in its use of the diminutive reciprocal.

¹⁵³ It is interesting to note that the Tewa of First Mesa have yielded on this principle, having borrowed from their Hopi neighbors a term for older sister, man

As in other Pueblo systems there are two terms for persons marrying into the family, one for the female connection by marriage, one for the male, and as elsewhere these terms are used descriptively only. In address, terms are used corresponding to the terms applied to the connecting relative, excepting at San Juan where there is a distinctive usage for uncle's wife (*nana*) and aunt's husband (*tata*). Unique among Pueblo nomenclature is the occurrence of a distinctive term for the sibling of the spouse.

or woman speaking, and having also a term for older brother. A Tewa First Mesa informant states that *pade'e* which he identifies with *pa're* means "first one" and *tilei* (New Mexico, *ti'u*, Arizona, *tiye*) means "next one." In smoking ritualistically "when I hand it (pipe) to my older brother, I say *pade'e*; when he hands it to me, he says *tilei*." Another case of obsolete kinship terms being retained in smoking ritual.

CLANSHIP

Among the Tanoans at Taos, Picuris, and Isleta, there is no clan system; at the other limit of the Pueblo area, among the Hopi, clanship is highly developed. The clan system of Zuñi approximates the Hopi; the systems of the Keresan towns vary somewhat with their distribution west and east, the western Keres having a more pronounced system than the eastern Keres.¹⁵⁴ At Jemez clanship is fairly insignificant. Among the Tewa, clanship is still more insignificant, functioning not even as an exogamous institution, and, as far as I could learn, devoid of ceremonial associations. It is merely a question of a name, which, to the younger people at least, may be even unknown. Even to the older people of San Juan and Santa Clara the clan affiliations of women or men marrying into the family are for the most part unknown, let alone the clan affiliations of neighbors. A middle-aged San Juan woman did not know what clan she belonged to. She would have to ask her maternal uncle, she said, and she was under the impression that at marriage a woman joined her husband's clan, just as she joined his moiety.¹⁵⁵ A middle-aged Santa Clara man thought his Tesuque¹⁵⁶ wife was a Sun clanswoman, he was not sure. How far ignorance or indifference¹⁵⁷ in the matter of clan classification may go comes out plainly in the analysis of our genealogical tables. In few cases, if any, is the clan of an unrelated person known.

¹⁵⁴ Mrs. Goldfrank refers to the "degeneration" of clanship at Cochiti. (Goldfrank, 1, 8). In view of the Tewa data, I incline to the opinion that clanship at Cochiti did not develop. It remained a marginal trait.

¹⁵⁵ I have since heard definitely that this may happen,—a certain Mountain eagle, Winter woman on marriage became a *punia*, Summer woman.

¹⁵⁶ There are *okuwa t'owa*, Cloud people (clan) at Tesuque, he said. A Tesuque informant referred to the clans there as *okuwa*, *kunye* (Turquoise), *po* (Squash), *t'an* (Sun), *ye* (Weasel), and *g'uhpi* (Red stone). He himself was Red stone, his wife, Weasel; their children, Red stone, i.e., the paternal descent prevails.

¹⁵⁷ My Santa Clara acquaintances had friends at San Juan, they said, and visited them, but of San Juan clans they did not know anything. "We never talk about *t'owa*."

Kinship terms are not applied to those bearing the same clan name. In fact, given the prevailing ignorance of clan affiliation, the existence of unrelated clanspeople, i.e., mere clanspeople, is unknown. Timia of Santa Clara, a Badger, could name no Badger person not a blood relative, nor, outside of her Red stone maternal connections, any Red stone person.

San Juan, Santa Clara, and Nambé informants not only denied that marriage choice was in any way affected by clan, but they were even surprised by the suggestion that marriage within the clan might be questioned.¹⁵⁸ This attitude was also expressed by a San Ildefonso man, whose parents belonged to the same clan, but a woman from another San Ildefonso family said that she would not like to have her young daughter, who was present and interpreting for us, marry a man of her clan. The brief genealogical table of these two San Ildefonso females (Gen. IV) more or less supports this attitude. Five marriages are recorded, of which four are exogamous, and one endogamous. In the San Ildefonso list of houses (B) given by the same informant, however, out of sixteen marriages mentioned eight are exogamous, and eight, endogamous.

Although there is no word for clan—*nabi t'owa*, my people, and *nabi matu'i* (S. J.), *matu'i* (S. C.),¹⁵⁹ my relations, being applied indiscriminately to both lines—the clan name descends unilaterally, sometimes through the maternal line, sometimes through the paternal. Two Santa Clara members of the family (Gen. III, 36, 38) posited clanship in the paternal line, “the father is stronger than the mother,”¹⁶⁰ and the clan name was

¹⁵⁸ It was stated specifically that Genealogy III, 9 could marry Genealogy III, 43, both of the Red stone clan.

¹⁵⁹ *Mato* is synonymous with *t'owa* people, clan, among the First Mesa Tewa and means matrilineal clan.

¹⁶⁰ The maternal grandmother of these persons was from Taos, so that descent in this family might readily have become patrilineal. But I heard of a better case for paternal descent. A Tewa of First Mesa, Corn clansman, is married at Santa Clara to a Santa Clara Badger clanswoman, and their children are reckoned of the Corn clan. “They follow their father’s clan in Santa Clara,” my First Mesa informant had been told by his ex-Hano friend.

compared to the Mexican patronymic as having neither more nor less significance. Specifically it would be said that two Badgers not genealogically connected were no more related than, let us say, two patronymically named Naranho or Tefoya. They might be related, they might not be. And just as you could take your mother's Mexican patronymic, if you preferred it to your father's, so you could take your mother's clan name. "If you don't like your father's *t'owa*, you can take your mother's." And this is what people sometimes do, i. e., they change their clan at pleasure! How frivolous this would seem to a Hopi!

At Nambé the practice prevails of a girl at marriage taking her husband's clan,¹⁶¹ just as she takes his moiety or his Mexican patronymic. (See List of Households, houses 9, 12, 17.) In one case a Laguna man married into Nambé takes his wife's clan (house 3). We noted that the practice of joining the husband's clan occurred also at San Juan. At Nambé and presumably in the other towns, if the father is Mexican or if there is no recognized father, the child takes the clan (and moiety) of the mother.

Small as is our census of Nambé, ten clans are represented,—ten clans among approximately fifty-five persons! This recalls the findings of Mr. Hodge among other pueblos, findings which have been questioned more than once. I have already suggested that a mere list of clans is always questionable, for names of groups which are not clans will be given.¹⁶² But here at Nambé I got the clan affiliations specifically and yet I got the same suspiciously large number of clans. One reason is clear enough, Nambé is a place of mixed marriages, a number of men from other pueblos are married into it, and, as patriliney prevails, these men introduce their clans or rather clan names. I reason that there will be a larger number of clans in a patrilineal than in a matrilineal community because more men than women come from abroad to marry into the town.

¹⁶¹ Presumably this practice occurs also at San Ildefonso and in part justifies my informant's habit of describing the whole family as belonging to one clan.

¹⁶² See pp. 87, 206.

But there is still another reason, I suspect, for the multiplicity of clan names at Nambé and perhaps wherever the clan is nothing but a name. Informants are peculiarly unreliable in advancing a name when they do not really know the clan name of the person enquired about. Several times Benina of Nambé contradicted herself in the matter of clan names. Somebody was Red stone today, who had been Squash yesterday and might be Moon tomorrow. Her Moon clan affiliations were actually so contradictory that I have not included that clan name in my list at all. For the same reason I did not include the citation of a Basket clan.

Nor is Nambé a criterion for the question of reckoning descent. Mexican influence is a strong factor for reckoning descent through the father and Mexican traits are more prominent in Nambé than in any other pueblo I know. The first husband of our Nambé informant was half Mexican, half Navaho, and I suspect that she also had Mexican blood. In her mind descent was indubitably paternal—in spite of the exceptions which cropped out in her own descriptions. For example, her first husband and his mother were Winter people, whereas his father and his brothers were Summer people. Again one descendant of this family was described as a Coyote clansman, whereas his paternal uncles were Sand clansmen. It happens that our Nambé informant had been one of the chief interpreters of certain anthropologists who were some time ago in the field and who never questioned that Tewa clans were patrilineal.

LIST OF CLANS

<i>Specifically¹⁶³ represented, 1923</i>	<i>Not specifically represented, 1923</i>	<i>Recorded in 1895¹⁶⁴</i>
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¹⁶³ That is in genealogical tables or through citation otherwise of a specified person. Without such particularization informants in any town, especially in towns where clanship is feeble, are prone to supply fantastic lists of clans.

¹⁶⁴ Hodge, pl. 7.

	San Juan	
<i>g'uhpi</i> (stone red ¹⁶⁵)		Coral (<i>kopiⁿ</i>)
	Sand (Earth)	Earth (<i>na</i> , Sand)
Sun (<i>t'an</i>)		Sun
	Turquoise (<i>k'unyæ</i>)	Turquoise
	Grass (<i>ta</i>) ¹⁶⁶	Grass
		Bear ¹⁶⁷
	Stick (<i>pe</i> ?prayer-stick or feather)	Firewood (<i>pæ</i>)
	Lizard	Lizard
Badger (<i>k'ea</i>)		Badger
	Tobacco (<i>sa</i>)	
		Calabash (<i>po</i> , squash)
	Weasel (<i>ye</i>)	Gopher (<i>dye</i> , weasel)
		Mt. Lion
Corn		Corn
		Cottonwood
	Clouds (<i>okuwah</i>)	Clouds
<i>tseping</i> (eagle, mountain)		Eagle (painted, <i>sepiⁿ</i>)
	Stone (<i>k'u</i>)	Stone
		Water
	Snake (<i>peng</i>)	
<i>punia</i> ¹⁶⁸		
<i>tsehta</i> ¹⁶⁹ ("white flat" shell) ¹⁷⁰		
	Santa Clara	
Red stone		Coral (<i>kupi</i>)
	Stick (<i>pe</i>) ¹⁷¹	Firewood
Badger ¹⁷²		Badger
Corn		Corn
Sand (<i>nan</i>)		Earth (Sand)

¹⁶⁵ Unidentified pink stone, pink quartz rather than "coral."

¹⁶⁶ *Ta*, a generic term for grasses. (Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 63.)

¹⁶⁷ Refers presumably to the medicine society. See pp. 117, 122, 123.

¹⁶⁸ Unidentified plant. Possibly Apache plume (Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 46).

¹⁶⁹ One such clansman reported as married to a woman from Nambé. The Nambé source of this clan name is dubious.

¹⁷⁰ Henderson and Harrington, 67.

¹⁷¹ Given by a First Mesa Tewa visitor to Santa Clara. This man was a Bear (Pine) clansman. What clan was he to affiliate with in Santa Clara? With the Stick clan, because when the Stick clan became extinct at Hano, his family moved into their house and "so those *tenro* (pine) *t'owa* (people, clan) got the *pe t'owa*!"

¹⁷² "Mostly all Santa Clara people are Badger."

Sun¹⁷³

Sun
 Calabash
 Cloud
 Cottonwood (Squash)
 Deer
 Eagle¹⁷⁴
 Gopher (Weasel)
 Oak
 Willow

San Ildefonso

Red stone

Coral (*kup'in*)

Turquoise

Turquoise

Sun

Sun

Water

Water

Antelope

Badger

Sand

Grass

Deer

Bluebird

Deer

Buffalo¹⁷⁴

Calabash (Squash)

Cloud

Corn

Cottonwood

Coyote

Eagle¹⁷⁴Fire (*pa*)¹⁶⁷

Firewood

Gopher (Weasel)

Hawk

Lizard

Mt. Lion

Shell bead

Stone

Tree (? Spruce)

Tesuque

Cloud

Cloud

Red stone

Turquoise

Turquoise

¹⁷³ Two Sun clanswomen from Tesuque.¹⁷⁴ Refers presumably to a ceremonial dance and curing organization

Weasel		Gopher (Weasel)
	Squash	
Sun		Sun
	Nambé	
Sand		Earth (Sand)
Grass		Grass
Tobacco		Tobacco
Squash (<i>po</i>)		Calabash (Squash)
Mountain Eagle		Eagle ¹⁷⁴
Red stone		
Weasel ¹⁷⁵		
		Ant
		Bear ¹⁶⁷
		Cloud
		Fire ¹⁶⁷
		Mt. Lion
		Tree (? Birch)
Coyote (<i>de</i>)		
<i>Pohun</i> ¹⁷⁰		
<i>Piyo</i> ¹⁷⁷ (Woodpecker)		

¹⁷⁵ *Ye. Wiye* was also used and said to refer to this same animal. (See Henderson and Harrington, 22, for *kuwiye*, chipmunk).

¹⁷⁶ Unidentified plant, with a clustering purple bloom, and root which is sliced like bread and used for rheumatism.

¹⁷⁷ Represented by one man (unless his daughter has taken his clan) from Abiquiu.

MOIETIES

Once in Jemez in a group consisting of a Jemez townsman, some Keresan visitors and a man from San Juan, we discussed clanship in the various towns. The San Juan man, a younger man, insisted that in San Juan there were no clans, "but we have Summer people and Winter people," he said. This moiety system is indeed a substitute for clans in the social consciousness where it holds the outstanding position clanship holds, let us say, among the Hopi. Among the Hopi and at Zuñi, a moiety classification exists to a slight extent for ceremonial purposes; but it is quite dissociated from descent. At Jemez and among the Keres, where the two-kiva system prevails, the ceremonial moiety becomes more prominent and the idea of descent is introduced. You belong to the kiva or ceremonial moiety of your father or parents, since a woman joins the kiva of her husband. The kivas are referred to as Turquoise and Squash and are associated with ideas of summer and winter, more particularly at Jemez. But only among the Tewa is there a double cacique-ship or town-chieftaincy with a divided charge of the people according to season, and only among the Tewa is the alignment into Summer people and Winter people, the outstanding principle of social classification, resorted to whenever classification is felt called for¹⁷⁸ and impregnating at many turns social opinion or attitude. As, for example, in appointing a man to fetch spruce for a dance when to ensure good weather the Outside chief will select a Summer man. Should he appoint a Winter man it would be cold, windy and snowy. A Winter man, were one appointed, might say to the chief, "If you are *kwise* (woman and man),¹⁷⁹ I will go," meaning if you are bold enough to face bad weather. "So even in winter, they send a Summer man." That weather is really controlled by the moieties is no uncertain belief. "When it stays warm late into

¹⁷⁸ See pp. 108, 259, 279.

¹⁷⁹ See p. 262.

autumn or cold late into spring it is because the Winter Man has not yet taken the people from the Summer Man, or the Summer Man taken the people from the Winter Man." At Santa Clara, in the long-standing feud between conservatives and progressives, the alignment is between the Winter people who are the conservatives or anti-American, and the Summer people who are the progressives or pro-American.¹⁸⁰ Witches, like erring politicians, may be associated with the other moiety.¹⁸¹ The Stars and even the Sun through his sons, the Dawn youths, are classified by moiety. So are the mountain ranges, so is food, at least ritual food.¹⁸² Races, games, and dances are or may be performed by moiety.

The moieties are called, at San Juan, *teⁿnopiiwent'owa*, Winter people, more commonly *oyiket'owa*, ice hard people, also *kwere*, and *payopiiwent'owa*, Summer people, more commonly *kayé t'owa*; at Santa Clara, *kwæri*, Winter people,¹⁸³ and *kayé*, Summer people;¹⁸⁴ at San Ildefonso, *kwáre* (*kwædi*), Winter people, and *kayé*, Summer people; and similarly at Tesuque, *kware* and *kaiyé*, and at Nambé, *kwæri* and *kayé*. *Kayé* is the term for the fetich stone animals or for fetich stones of all kinds.¹⁸⁵ At San Juan the moieties may also be referred to as *akompiye* and *pimpiye*, South (Summer) and North (Winter); at San Ildefonso, *kynyæ*, Turquoise (Winter) and *po'*, Squash (Summer).¹⁸⁶ Femaleness is associated with the Summer moiety whose chief is called mother old woman, and maleness, with the

¹⁸⁰ See p. 106.

¹⁸¹ See Parsons, 4, 58. The "bad people" dance the Basket dance, the "good people," the Deer dance. See pp. 187, 205, for the Basket dance and the Buffalo dance performed by moiety at San Felipe.

¹⁸² See pp. 95, 147. Also Parsons, 4, 15.

¹⁸³ See Harrington, 2, 61-2. According to my informant, *tenuri'ingt'owa*, Winter people, is not used.

¹⁸⁴ *Payogeri'ingt'owa*, Summer people, is also used.

¹⁸⁵ See p. 64, where it appears to refer also to the Cloud people.

¹⁸⁶ At Santa Clara the term Turquoise is associated with the Summer people but never applied, and Squash refers to the Winter people. This is Harrington's observation also.

Winter moiety, its chief called father old man. A comparative observer from Nambé remarked that the Summer people were always more numerous because they were the woman, i.e., female, and in every pueblo the Winter people were few because they were the man, i.e., male.

The moieties are patrilineal, unlike the clans, unquestionably patrilineal. There is a tendency for the moieties to be endogamous, less marked at San Juan,¹⁸⁷ well marked at Santa Clara, and still more marked, at least in theory, at San Ildefonso. Here most spouses are described as of the same moiety, but whether because the marriage has been endogamous or because the wife joins the husband's moiety remains obscure. At Nambé there is no theory of endogamy, and the recorded marriages tell no story. Between moieties and clans there appear to be few, if any, relationships. At San Ildefonso there is some distribution of houses according to moiety; on the north side there is a block of Summer people, and on the west side the houses are owned by Winter people or predominantly Winter people. At Santa Clara and at San Juan the house proprietors from the point of view of moiety affiliation are scattering. Given the fact that houses may be owned by women and men alike and that in the more northern towns the moieties are not consistently endogamous, house grouping by moiety were obviously out of the question.

The relations or the lack of them between moiety and clan, between moiety and marriage, and between moiety and house ownership I will now particularize according to our genealogical data and to additional data contained in lists of the households of each of the three towns studied.

MOIETY AND CLAN

In the social consciousness there appears to be no alignment between the moieties and the clans. In tabulating case by case a degree of alignment appears, although erratically and con-

¹⁸⁶ One San Juan youth insisted they were exogamous.

fusedly and, in view of the meagreness of the knowledge everywhere about clanship affiliations, most uncertainly. At San Juan most Red stone clanspeople are Winter people, but there are three who are Summer people and one who was born Summer and through marriage became Winter. At Santa Clara there is but one instance of a Red stone belonging to the Summer people. At San Ildefonso there are more Red stone Summer people recorded than Red stone Winter people, but the Summer people of San Ildefonso considerably outnumber the Winter people. Besides, my more reliable San Ildefonso informant was a Summer woman. The two Red stone persons of Nambé were Summer, one changing her moiety after marriage. All the Weasel (*ye* and *wiye*) people of Nambé are Summer, and all the Sand people, with two exceptions, Winter. All Corn clanspeople mentioned in San Juan and in Santa Clara are Winter people. Here again it should be noted that our Santa Clara informan was a Winter woman. All the Badgers mentioned in Santa Clara are Winter, but the Badgers mentioned in San Juan are Summer or of Summer descent, i.e., the three Winter Badgers are descendants of a Summer Badger who changed moiety at marriage. In this family as throughout the genealogical tables is illustration of the impossibility of any fixed alignment between moiety and clan given the change of moiety by women at marriage.

In the Mountain eagle clan of San Juan there is an illustration of the lack of alignment through the clan being matrilineal and the moiety patrilineal. The two Winter Mountain eagles were brother and sister (Gen. I, 2, 3). The sister married a Summer man and her descendants (Gen. I, 11, 14, 16, 48, 49) are therefore given in addition the marriage of her daughter to a Summer man, Summer Mountain eagles.

The figures for moiety-clan affiliations for San Ildefonso are taken from Genealogy IV and household list B (household list A is too unreliable to make use of in this connection).¹⁸⁸ Informant

¹⁸⁸ But its data may serve to suggest the alignment in the standardizing mind of our farceur informant. Of his own people, Winter people, he mentions forty-five,

was a Summer woman and in her house census appear seventy-two Summer people to ten Winter people, corroborating her classification of only three households in San Ildefonso as Winter people. With these data it were questionable to hypothecate any alignment between moiety and clan in San Ildefonso.

When we recall that the moieties are patrilineal and that clanship is frequently reckoned matrilineally,¹⁸⁹ it is plain that the statement that "the same clan, wherever it is found, always belongs to the same phratry" (moiety)¹⁹⁰ must be open to question. Again failure in the practice of moiety endogamy would mean encroachment upon alignment between moiety and clan, for the woman may change her moiety, joining her husband's. There are still other factors which would be contributory to variable grouping. Illegitimate children are assigned to the moiety as well as clan of their mother, which arrangement, unless the moiety were consistently endogamous, would upset schematism. Again one may deliberately change one's moiety (without change of clan) because of sickness,¹⁹¹ and such change were a direct contravention of moiety-clan schematism. Likewise, according to a Santa Clara man, at Santa Clara people sometimes change their clan, without change of moiety.

twenty-eight, Red stone, seventeen, Turquoise; of the sixty Summer people mentioned, forty-three are described as Grass, seventeen as Sun. There is a thorough alignment in this list between moiety and clans because the clan of wife, husband, and children is always given as the same. The same informant, however, in referring to various relations failed to preserve the alignment. He referred to his mother (perhaps grandmother), Tsehta, a Winter woman, as belonging variously to Sun, Red stone and Turquoise clans.

¹⁸⁹ Elsewhere (Parsons, 12) I have discussed the distribution of clan and moiety among the Pueblos in particular in relation to the Tewa. Here I would further suggest that when the clanship pattern spread to the Tewa from the Keres it tended to take on the patrilineal aspect of the Tewa moiety. (See p. 279). The moiety, if anything, is endogamous and we might expect that the exogamous principles of the Keresan clan would not be well received by the Tewa. It did in effect go by the board.

¹⁹⁰ Harrington, 2, 61.

¹⁹¹ See List of Households, Santa Clara, house 58. Another case was cited at San Ildefonso. Tsehpín was born Winter, then after he grew up, he was sick and changed to Summer. He married Toyo, a Summer woman.

Clan adoption because of sickness is practiced at Cochiti (Goldfrank, 1, 51).

MOIETY AND CLAN AFFILIATIONS¹⁹²

	Red stone		Mt. Eagle		Badger		Corn		Sand		Grass		Sun		Weasel	
	S	W S-W	S	W S-W	S	W S-W	S	W S-W	S	W S-W	S	W S-W	S	W S-W	S	W S-W
San Juan	3	10 1	5 2		3 1	1										
Santa Clara	1	34			28	6		1 6								
San Ildefonso	17	6							15 3	40 1						
Nambé ¹⁹³	1	1 1	4				5 16		6	1					10	

¹⁹² Data based on information given in genealogical tables and household lists. Data are too scant and influenced too much by the moiety and clan affiliations of informants to indicate more than that certain affiliations or associations are possible. S=Summer; W=Winter; S-W=change of moiety.

¹⁹³ Several clans represented at Nambé by an individual or by a family or two are not tabulated, which is true also, no doubt, of the other towns:—Tobacco, S.; Woodpecker, W. from Abiquiu; Squash, W. from Cochiti; Basket, S. and *pohun*, S, from Pojoaque; Turquoise, S. from Laguna; Coyote, S.

MOIETY AND MARRIAGE

San Juan

In the genealogical tables eleven marriages are recorded within the moiety, and six into the other moiety. In the list of households are noted seven endogamous marriages and six exogamous. In the total of these exogamous marriages—twelve—four women joined their husband's moiety, information is lacking about two women, six women kept to the moiety of birth or of their first husband. (I was told that commonly if a second husband belongs to the opposite moiety a woman does not switch over.) There are eighteen endogamous marriages to twelve exogamous; but no theory of moiety endogamy is entertained; and in concrete cases no objection occurs to inter-moiety marriage. For example, Genealogy I, 70, a Winter boy, I was told, could marry Genealogy II, 38, 47, Summer girls; or Genealogy II, 36, a Summer boy, could marry Genealogy I, 39, a Winter girl.

In the exogamous or mixed marriages, it was said that "lots of girls are given water," i.e., change from their own moiety to their husband's. A woman of the moiety to be joined will be chosen as the girl's *pokuiya*, water pour mother. For four days the girl will stay in the house of her *pokuiya*, eating food without salt, and dried corn bread, and grinding a basket of corn for her *pokuiya*. This is only preliminary, seven years later the change will be completed. The girl returns to the house of *pokuiya* for a retreat of four days. If her *pokuiya* is a Summer woman she adds summer fruits, apples and plums, to the girl's dietary; if she is a Winter woman, she adds deer meat and rabbit (always without salt). This time the girl prepares a basket of parched corn meal (*puwata*, parch) together with wafer-bread, for the chief, whether Summer Man or Winter Man, who is to change her over. After the retreat for four nights she is taken by her *pokuiya* to Big kiva. After leaving the kiva the first night the girl who is called *pokuye* is bathed by her *pokuiya* who also gives the girl a present of bread and chili. One woman may be god-

mother or sponsor, so to speak, for several girls at a time. A woman was cited who in the spring of 1926 had had four girls to bathe and give presents to, presents totaling to fifteen dollars. This ceremony was conducted by the Summer people, i.e., the girls were changing from Winter to Summer people, and so it was held in the spring, before planting. It was referred to as *kaiye pokuire*, Summer people pour water. The Winter people would hold this adoption ceremony in December. . . . On the fourth night in the kiva, the only night persons not engaged in the ritual may be present, the *oxuwah* and the *kossa* come in. This is the night the girl is "given water."

There is a moiety adoption ceremony for boys also. The boys stay with a "pour water father," *pokuila*, who takes them to the ditch to bathe, and who gives them bow and arrows or moccasins. The adoption is for the sons of women who have not been "given water." The case of a Mexican woman married to a San Juan man was cited. Her seven children, boys and girls, were all "given water." In view of the fact that moiety membership is through the father, it seems singular that the adoption ceremony is felt called for in the case of offspring of women belonging to the opposite moiety to their husband's or of alien women belonging to neither moiety. Notable is the fact that this elaborate adoption is not into the clan, but into the moiety,^{191a} the ubiquitous Tewa principle or pattern of organization.

. . . . Moiety adoption raises the question of whether or not formerly the moiety was strictly endogamous, adoption being a method to offset present-day lapses in the endogamous rule.

Santa Clara

In the genealogical table ten marriages are recorded within the moiety and six are extra-moiety. In the list of households are noted thirty-three endogamous marriages and nine exogamous. In the total of exogamous marriages—fifteen—two

^{191a} At Isleta there is also moiety adoption for an alien spouse.

women joined their husband's moiety, information is lacking about one woman, twelve women kept to the moiety of birth. There are forty-three endogamous marriages to fifteen exogamous, and a theory of moiety endogamy is entertained. "Just very few Summer people marry Winter people," said a Santa Clara woman, by way of describing the endogamous tendency.

San Ildefonso

The theory of endogamy is entertained even more consistently at San Ildefonso, at least by the only informants available. In practice, however, as the discursive data indicate, there is extra-moiety marrying. For example Tsehta is a woman who was born Summer, married a Winter man and became Winter. Then there are Pimpetsaawa and Afe, Summer women, who have "stayed Summer" although married to Winter men. Poitsa^uwa of house 8 (List B) is a Summer woman married to a Summer man, but her first husband was a Winter man. In houses 11, 13 (List B) are noted other mixed marriages. Kepin, a Winter (Grass) man is married to Go'ota, a Summer (Sun) woman. The present numerical preponderance of the Summer people over the Winter people would of itself favor exogamy.

Tesuque

The one family of whom I know particulars are Summ people—both parents and, of course, their children.

Nambé

The genealogical tables show four exogamous marriages and two endogamous. In the List of Households are recorded two exogamous marriages and five endogamous.

MOIETY AND HOUSE OWNERSHIP

As stated, inheritance of houses by women as well as by men together with change of moiety by women at marriage is a factor against grouping of houses by moiety. There is a good

illustration of this in the case of houses 3, 4, of San Juan. Elisa Montoya inherited her house from her mother, who had inherited from her father, from whom Elisa's maternal uncle had also inherited his house. All were Winter people, until Elisa married a Summer man and became a Summer woman. Now her house must be accounted a Summer house. So here in the same family we have side by side a Summer house and a Winter house. A similar process is to be inferred in the case of houses 19 and 20 at Santa Clara. Both originally formed one house belonging to a Summer man. To one granddaughter, a son's daughter who married a Summer man, he left part of his house, to another grandchild he left the other part. Now this grandchild was either the offspring of a daughter who changed moiety at marriage or in case the grandchild was a female she herself changed moiety at marriage. At any rate the house or ruin is now Winter. Again at Santa Clara within a group of houses belonging to related Summer people is the house (house 58) of a brother who changed his moiety in consequence of sickness.

On the north side of Ildefonso there are six or seven houses, all belonging to Summer people; on the west side, the five or six houses belong to Winter people, all of them according to our Winter informant, only three of them, according to our Summer informant. On the south side all the houses are Summer, according to the Summer informant; they are mixed Summer and Winter, according to the Winter informant. As they are also, according to him, on the west side. On this side there are some stores and the Summer informant describes no house proprietors. To total, there are, by List A, twenty-four houses, of which fourteen are Summer, and ten, Winter; by List B, eighteen houses, of which fifteen are Summer, and three, Winter.

KIVAS

As stated, the kivas are definitely associated with the moieties. But outside of the moiety affiliation the kivas are also used by dancers, and for such general ceremonial occasions as when "medicine" is administered to everybody.¹⁹⁴

San Juan

The two kivas are called *te'e hee*, Big kiva (pl. 3a), which belongs to the Winter people, and *te'e hiñee*, Little kiva (pl. 2a), which belongs to the Summer people. The kivas are *not* referred to as Squash and Turquoise. According to one San Juan man Big kiva is used for all the kachina (*oxuwah*) dancing, and for ceremonial retreats,¹⁹⁵ Little kiva for other dances or dance practise. For this informant there appeared to be no association between kiva and moiety. There are, to be sure, some indications that the moiety kiva affiliations are not rigid.¹⁹⁶

The kivas are kept locked (by key) when not ceremonially in use. Kiva repair is in charge of the Outside chief. (See p. 104)

Now I learn that formerly a kiva belonging to the Summer people stood near the site of the present Catholic chapel. When the chapel was built the kiva was torn down. And so Little kiva is a kind of substitute, and the uncertainty about kiva affiliations in part accounted for. Possibly at San Juan, as at Santa Clara, the Summer people once expressed a "progressive," anti-ceremonial spirit.

Santa Clara

The two Santa Clara kivas go by the same names as the moieties, *kwæri te'e*, also called *bu'u te'e*, town kiva, and *kaye te'e*, also called *bu'ge te'e*, "in a hole" kiva. Repair in the kivas,

¹⁹⁴ See pp. 124, 180, 256.

¹⁹⁵ In a San Juan folk-tale in which the *oxuwah* come, they were getting ready, i.e., they were in retreat, four days in advance, in Big kiva.

¹⁹⁶ See pp. 124, 129, 180.

plastering, etc., is decided upon by the Winter chief and Summer chief respectively. For such purpose either will call a meeting of his own moiety in his own house.

San Ildefonso

There are three kivas—the two customarily associated with the moieties and a third, referred to as *p'endi* (? on the other side, dark, black)¹⁹⁷ *te'e*, an outside kiva, (pl. 11*a*), which is used, said one informant, merely as a dance place.¹⁹⁸ Another informant said that this outside kiva, which she called *k'unq te'*, Turquoise kiva, belonged to the Winter people. Outside or Turquoise kiva is a circular detached building of the type to be seen in Keresan towns and at Isleta.¹⁹⁹ The other kivas are rectangular, undetached buildings as at Santa Clara and San Juan. That in the north row of houses (pl. 9*b*)²⁰⁰ belongs to the Summer people and was referred to as Squash kiva (*pote'e*); that at the southeast corner of town (pl. 11*b*) was referred to as Turquoise kiva (*k'unyq te'e*, also as *oyikete'e*). It belongs to the Winter people. Squash and Turquoise are the Keresan and Jemez terms, only by Keres and Jemez people Squash is associated with winter and Turquoise with summer.

Tesuque

There are two kivas, undetached rectangular buildings, the Winter people's in the southeast corner of town, the Summer people's, "behind the church," in the northeast. In the Buffalo dance which is said to be not by moiety, the Winter people's kiva is used. On the northwest side of town there is a house which is used for the war (*hqm̃bi*) dances from Oklahoma. In the Winter people's kiva there are said to be hearth and fire

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Harrington, 2, 83.

¹⁹⁸ Plate 26 shows that it is used in the *tablita* dance, for the dance standard may be seen projecting through the hatch.

¹⁹⁹ The moieties at Isleta have, each, a round kiva and a rectangular, undetached kiva.

²⁰⁰ In December, 1927, I found this kiva torn down. Its wooden steps were attached to a new detached kiva, rectangular and unusually large, perhaps fifty feet long, built south of the round kiva, just across the road.

screen similar to those of the Nambé kiva (see below), and the "three kinds of *kossa*"—*kwirano*, *tema*, and *tewa*—are painted on three posts (see below).

Nambé

There is but one kiva at Nambé, and there is no memory of any other. The kiva is round and very large, with a flight of earthen steps to the roof (pl. 14a), and ladder down into the kiva. I went up and down into the kiva, and out by the large vent which is in the eastern wall, to one side and back of the fire screen, and which is not kept closed, so that any one might go into the kiva. In other words, contrary to Pueblo custom the kiva is kept wide open.

The fire screen of adobe is finished on top in the familiar terrace design, as are the kiva fire screens at Jemez.²⁰¹ There are some loose stones to one side of the square hearth, and in the middle of the kiva the earth is loosely laid, suggestive of ritual deposit. Here, in fact, is the *nangtsipupinge*, sand navel middle, and here are buried the *kuhaiye* (*kaye*), stone spirits²⁰²—*kuhaiye tsqwe* (blue), *tsaiyi* (white), *pi'* (red), *pendi* (black), as Benina inexactly enumerated. North and south of this central spot stand two wooden pillars which are striped black and white and, somewhat over a man's height from the ground, have each a face crudely outlined in white.²⁰³ These pillars represent the *kossa*, the one to the north, the *kossa* of the Winter people, that to the south, the *kossa* of the Summer people.²⁰⁴ Adobe wall benches run along the north and south sides of the kiva, which are used respectively by the Winter and Summer peoples.

The kiva is called *poqte'e*, water running building, the same phrase which appears in the name of the Summer people's chief—*poqtuyo*. But, as indicated, the kiva is used by both Summer and Winter peoples.

²⁰¹ See Parsons, 3, pl. 5a.

²⁰² As in the Isleta kivas.

²⁰³ Cf. Harrington, 2, 361.

²⁰⁴ These representations in Nambé and Tesuque kivas do not occur in the kivas of Santa Clara and San Juan.

GOVERNOR AND OFFICERS

There are as elsewhere the governor (*to'yo'*, chief) and his assistants, and those half secular, half ceremonial officers the Keres call in English "war captains." In Keresan and in Tewa the term, literally translated, is the same, "outside chief," in Keresan, *tsatio hocheni*, in Tewa, *akono'toyo*. Of *akono'toyo*²⁰⁵ there are six (S. J., S. I.). There are also the usual church officers, *pika* (fiscals). They carry the dead to the graveyard. Formerly, at San Juan, they would call the young boys and girls together with what is described as a watchman's rattle, they had a whip, too, to talk to the boys and girls, telling them how to behave.

As elsewhere all these officers are chosen annually, subject to re-election. At San Juan in 1923 the *akono'toyo*²⁰⁶ and his right hand man were serving their third term. The left hand man, and one other, their second term, the other two, their first term.

As in the other eastern pueblos the governor has considerable authority. His executive orders on communal cooperation are to be obeyed. In a San Juan folk-tale the governor is even associated with the Town chiefs, i.e., Summer chief and Winter chief, in issuing the order to sweep in front of the house of the young prophet, and by the governor together with the Town chiefs those who "do not want to do what their Mother(s) and the governor tell them" are counted. The governor and his staff are no doubt as elsewhere the mouthpiece of the hierarchy, but they may likewise act on their own.

At San Juan, but not in the other towns, there is a crier (*tokq̄di*) whose office is lifelong. The office appears not to be-

²⁰⁵ Called also *akq̄ge* (see p. 147) which term is applied to the yard dog, war captain and dog are guards.

²⁰⁶ He happens to be a Winter man. His predecessor was a Summer man.

long to either moiety. Puganini (Butterfly), the present crier, is a Winter man. When Sensio, the crier of eight years ago, also a Winter man, died, they chose a Summer man, but "he could not call hard," so Puganini was chosen.

The crier calls out "when Mexicans come in to trade," for stray animals, for sweeping the streets, for work on the ditch, for races, and, probably, for other occasions. He does not call out for dances. During my visit an erratic old Mexican woman of Alcalde wandered away and was lost in the hills. The crier called her out. A reward was offered. The crier habitually calls out for lost articles. If the finder is good, he returns what he has found, if bad, he hides it.

San Juan

The governor has three assistants, his right and his left, who are called *tenienti*, and *awasi* (Mex., *aguazil*) who acts like a sheriff, fetching recalcitrants to the governor's house. These officers are chosen at a meeting in the house of the Summer chief. In 1927 Juan Bautista Awina was governor.

All the officers, governor and staff, fiscals, and Outside chiefs have canes of office (*tuyo pe*, chief stick). Only the governor's is silver-topped (i.e., the Lincoln cane). At the installation "all the men" go into the Summer chief's house, where the canes are given. "When they come out with their sticks we know who they are" [i.e., the new officers] The incoming governor has knelt before the Summer chief, who makes a long prayer. The Winter chief puts his hand also on the cane and then both together, Winter man and Summer man, they "hand it" to the new governor. The new governor feeds sacred meal to the cane. The new officers pay the *padre* (Tewa, *ow'a*) to say a mass for the year. To this mass everybody goes.

The Outside chief plans the winter dance program. With his assistants he collects or assembles the dancers, likewise the players for ceremonial shinny. He appoints men to go for dance spruce. Formerly he had to be asked to have the scalp dance

and he gave the pipe to the men who were willing to take it and dance. In a folk-tale the Outside chief is described as going from house to house to notify for a public meeting of the curing society.

The Outside chief is responsible for the repair of the kivas. On the night of November 13, 1923, the Outside chief called a meeting of his five assistants to decide on telling the women to plaster Little kiva. The next day in the evening the crier called out to the women to go to work the day following, i.e., November 15. In the morning he called out again to the women to leave their own work and go to work on the kiva. The Outside chiefs themselves would help the women "make mud." This repair was said to be for Christmas; but in view of the melons noticed on the kiva roof and the baskets of blue corn, I incline to think the dance was more imminent. Although my informant was the wife of one of the Outside chiefs who was himself at work, she had not joined in the communal job. She was not fat enough to keep warm out there in the cold, she said, and she chuckled over the "fat ladies" she had left at work.

As elsewhere the Outside chief is responsible for public morals. A striking illustration occurred during my visit. One day two men from Taos arrived. Now the people of Taos were in a turmoil over peyote and at that time affairs had taken a particularly acute turn and Taos was without secular officers, a condition of social unrest that would seem highly deplorable to any pueblo at peace. Besides, did not *beota* make men crazy? So one of the Outside chiefs made the round of the houses, telling the people not to harbor the Taos visitors, to lock their doors, which my informant, for one, did. "The Outside chiefs were afraid the Taos boys would give *beota* to the boys here."

Apropos of the spread of the peyote cult we may note that one Pedro Baca of Santa Clara is or was a peyote eater. He had tuberculosis and he claims that he was cured by *beota*. Pedro Baca is a Summer man and belongs to the more "progressive" faction of Santa Clara, like the peyote men of Taos. For ex-



Kachina chief of Nambé led by the Mother of the Kachina.

ample, Pedro Baca was the first man to keep his hair short, as would the progressives of Taos, did they dare. . . . Pedro Baca was a forest ranger. In 1926 he rode into Santa Clara in a dazed condition, and after remaining a few days in this condition, without speaking, he died. An overdose of peyote?

As a police to preserve custom the detailed functions of the Outside chiefs vary considerably, I infer, from town to town. Take, for example, the question of grinding corn. At Tesuque the women are not allowed to take their corn to the mill, whereas at Santa Clara no grinding is done any longer at home.²⁰⁷ All the grain is taken to Española or to a mill owned by a Santa Clara man "up creek." The metates have been taken out of the houses.²⁰⁸

Santa Clara

The governor has four assistants, his lieutenant, *tiniyenti* or right hand man, and his left, *awasi*, and two others. Ex-governors are referred to as *kenerá*, in Spanish, *principales*. Like office-holders they do not have to work on the ditch.

The Outside chief has also four assistants, his right and left, and two others. As usual elsewhere, these officials are on guard during ceremonies, including kachina dances;²⁰⁹ and their chief plans for dances.

Of the *pika* there are four. They take charge of burials.

There is a council (*we'ge*) composed of all the men.

In November, 1926, a Winter man told me that for two

²⁰⁷ Nowadays only two old women in Santa Clara know how to make wafer-bread. One middle-aged woman never learned at all how to make it, lest she burn her hands!

²⁰⁸ Cf. Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 86.

²⁰⁹ In the San Juan folk-tale of the Ghost Gambler, two Outside chiefs are appointed by the Old Men to accompany the youth who is to gamble with the murderous ghost. The chiefs are left outside as guards. They have been given "medicine" by the old men. In another folk-tale (see p. 125) the Outside chiefs go up on a roof to keep guard during a curing ceremony. In still another, they keep guard over the boys in retreat for rain.

years they had had two governors, one for the Winter people, one for the Summer people. The Winter people's governor has no *tenienti*, he has war captains. Later, a Summer man denied that there was more than one governor. He was Victoriano, a Summer man. Inferably the Summer people do not recognize the governor of the Winter people. There might well be need of two governors, for it is reported that the two "classes," as the moieties are called at Española, will not work together on the ditches or roads. The American engineer at work on the wells found that in setting up the windmills the two "classes" would not work together. Benina of Nambé who visits in Santa Clara reports that the Summer and Winter peoples won't look on at each other's dances, "they won't even peep outside." In view of the meager attendance I have noted at dances at Santa Clara I incline to credit this gossip.

San Ildefonso

The governor, *toyú*, has three assistants, right-hand man, left-hand man, and one other. Their orders may be called from the house top, also from the middle. The present governor was said by a San Juan man to be a Navaho,²¹⁰ i.e., of Navaho descent.

The Outside chiefs of whom there are six are called *towa'e*, because they represent, as they do also in San Juan,²¹¹ those war gods. (See p. 145.) The Outside chiefs appoint the *samaiyo*.

Tesuque

The officers are chosen in the house of the Summer chief—by Summer chief, Winter chief, and *samaiyo*. The governor has a right-hand man, a left-hand man, and one *fiskal*.

The Outside chief appoints the dancers in the Buffalo dance.

²¹⁰ At Nambé there had been also a Navaho governor. He is dead, but "now his children mind (rule) Nambé." To my San Juan informant it was a great joke for a place like Nambé or San Ildefonso to be governed by an outsider, as incongruous as seeing an Irish Catholic or Jew, President of the United States.

²¹¹ Here, however, in folk-tale only are the Outside chiefs referred to as *towa e*

Nambé

The officers are chosen by the Winter chief (Agostin Vihil) and by the Town chiefs of Tesuque. To Benina of Nambé that either *kossa* or *pufona* should take part in the selection of the officers seemed quite an unfamiliar idea.

The governor (*tuyo*) of Nambé has a right-hand man and a left-hand man. In 1926, Loretto Vihil (house 18) of Mexican-Navaho descent was governor;²¹² Agostin Vihil (house 6), was right-hand man, and Ufrasio Trujillo (house 19), left-hand man.

There are three²¹³ Outside chiefs; formerly there were six.

²¹² In 1927 he was right-hand man.

²¹³ A year later Benina states there are five Outside chiefs, as in each pueblo.

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

The ceremonial groups are of a comparatively small membership, which is recruited for the most part through dedication in youth, often as a vow in sickness. Recruiting also occurs through trespass or "trapping," and through appointment. Between dedication or appointment and initiation or installation a considerable period of time may elapse.²¹⁴ A set period of a year is allowed to elapse before installation into some offices.²¹⁵

The general pattern of organization is the group of three—chief with "right-hand" (*koyinge*) man and "left-hand" (*nyemæge*) man, the positions being life-long. At the death of the chief, his "right-hand" man succeeds, and is himself succeeded by the "left-hand" man.

In all the towns the groups are (or were): a double-headed Town chieftaincy, two curing or medicine societies, Flint and Fire, and a Snake doctor, two clown societies, a single Hunt chief, a war or scalp-takers' society and a woman's society whose outstanding function is with the Hunt chief to appoint to office. An Eagle society and a Buffalo society should probably be included. At San Juan associated with the Turtle dance, a maskless kachina dance, are two clown masks, one from the Summer people, one from the Winter people. The functions are held for life.

²¹⁴ At Isleta and Jemez there appears to be some analogous rule. At Jemez I got no account of it, but there was a notably large number of vacancies in office that were being temporarily filled by an acting chief. There is a probationary period at Cochiti (Goldfrank, 1, 56).

²¹⁵ Our comparative observer of Nambé asserted that this period was observed for every office, the course being four days of preliminary initiation, a year of "eggsetting," the final initiation of twelve days. The year of "eggsetting" was not observed for Ramos Archuleita when he became chief of the Flint doctors of San Juan. He was installed at once by the *apienu* and *pikæ* (see p. 133). A head man was needed at once.

TOWN CHIEFTAINCY

Of the Summer people the chief is called *po'ætoyo* (*po'ætunyo* or *tunjo*, S. C.) *sendo* (*po'æt*,²¹⁶ chief, old man), or *payoke* (*payo*, summer) or *payogeri'ingt'owasen^do* (S. C.). The Winter chief may be addressed or referred to as *tasendo* (father old man) and the Summer chief as *yiya kwiyo* or *yakwiyo*, mother old woman.²¹⁷ In the tales both chiefs are referred to as the father and mother of the people. Of the Winter people the chief is called *oyike sen^do* (ice hard old man) or *oyiké sendo* (S. C.). From November to March *oyike sen^do* is in charge, in charge of all the people; from March to November, the *po'ætoyo sendo*. Between the two chiefs there is no question of rank, each rules in his own season, and yet whenever a reference to but one chief is in order, as in the folk-tales, it is Summer chief who is mentioned. Each chief has two assistants, his right-hand man, who sits on his right, and his left-hand man, who sits on his left, himself "he goes in the middle." The position of Town chief is, as usual elsewhere, lifelong. At the death of the chief his right-hand man succeeds,²¹⁸ the left-hand man becoming right-hand man. Inheritance of office through kinship is entirely out of question, theoretically; in practice there may be a tendency to choose kinsmen as assistants. A San Ildefonso informant said, "When there is a relative they put him in, so they won't have to come out from their house." The practice of dedication to office has also to be considered in this connection. (See p. 111.)

²¹⁶ *Po'æt*, ceremony presiding (Harrington, 2, 62), said of both Town chiefs. The etymology is obscure,—*po* means water or head or feather. In the ritual song associated with the Town chiefs, *poæt* is translated "water runs," (see p. 174), (*æt*, come, Harrington) and I incline to translate *po'ætoyo* as "water runs or comes chief." *Poætpi*, water runs coming, is a reference to "the people who first came out of the Lake," i.e., the people of the Emergence. See, too, below.

²¹⁷ Rosita of San Juan referred to the Summer chief as *tasendo*; *yakiwyo* seemed unfamiliar to her. But in a San Juan folk-tale Summer chief is referred to as *payo-kwi*, Summer Woman.

²¹⁸ At San Juan, if approved of by the *pikæt sendo* and the *apienu*. See p. 139.

No work is done for the Town chiefs; but no communal work, notably work on the ditch, irrigation work, is required of them, nor of the other "old men."

The Town chiefs conduct the seasonal transfer ceremonies and solstice ritual, taking solstice observations, and both groups share in the series of weather retreats. The Town chiefs are in charge of the kachina masks, and determine on kachina dances. In the San Juan Emergence myth the western and eastern mountain ranges are assigned respectively to Summer Mother and Winter Mother, so with their kachina they approach respectively from the west or the east. Inferably, if now or ever the Town chiefs lead or led in the kachina, they would approach, one from the west, the other from the east. And the myth suggests that the chiefs would carry their Mothers with them as the kachina leader does at Zuñi.²¹⁹

Little could be learned definitely of the Town chieftaincy ritual. Undoubtedly they are custodians of the Mothers²²⁰ with all that implies, and undoubtedly prayer-stick or prayer-feather making is a part of their ritual. I infer, too, that, like the town chief of Isleta, they are custodians of the native tobacco used in ritual, for, as I heard the tradition at Nambé, when the first Summer Man and Winter Man came out, at the Emergence, each had a stick of *poqsa*, water runs tobacco, with the tobacco leaves and seeds. In another Nambé tale²²¹ Summer Man, who in the tale is referred to as Crook prayer-stick old man, spends his time making ritual cigarettes.

On ceremonial occasions red paint is smeared on the hair parting of the Town chiefs and their assistants and under their eyes. (S. J.)²²²

²¹⁹ In a San Juan tale the Mother shows the way. Cf. Dumarest, 231-233.

²²⁰ In a San Juan folk-tale the Mother is described as hanging up by a string in the house of the Summer chief. She asks to be uncovered and laid in the middle of a basket, and given corn meal to eat.

²²¹ See p. 284.

²²² See the folk-tale in which Coyote old man prepares himself to become Summer chief. On the parting of one of the Winter Men of San Juan I noticed this make-up.

San Juan

After the death of a Town chief, whether Summer Man or Winter Man, the *pikæ* waits a year before installing his successor, who is his right-hand man. There is a retreat of four days in the house of the deceased chief, without fire for the initiation of the Winter chief. On the fourth night they go to the kiva where only the people of the respective moiety, Summer or Winter, are present. In the case of the Winter chieftaincy the initiate stirs the fire with his bare hands and because he is an ice man he will not be burned. Then the *pikæ* switches him four times. "If he is a good man, nothing will hurt or burn him." The *oxuwah* come in. He feeds them (i.e., sprinkles meal on them). All day the people of the installing moiety are inviting those of the other moiety to their houses to eat.

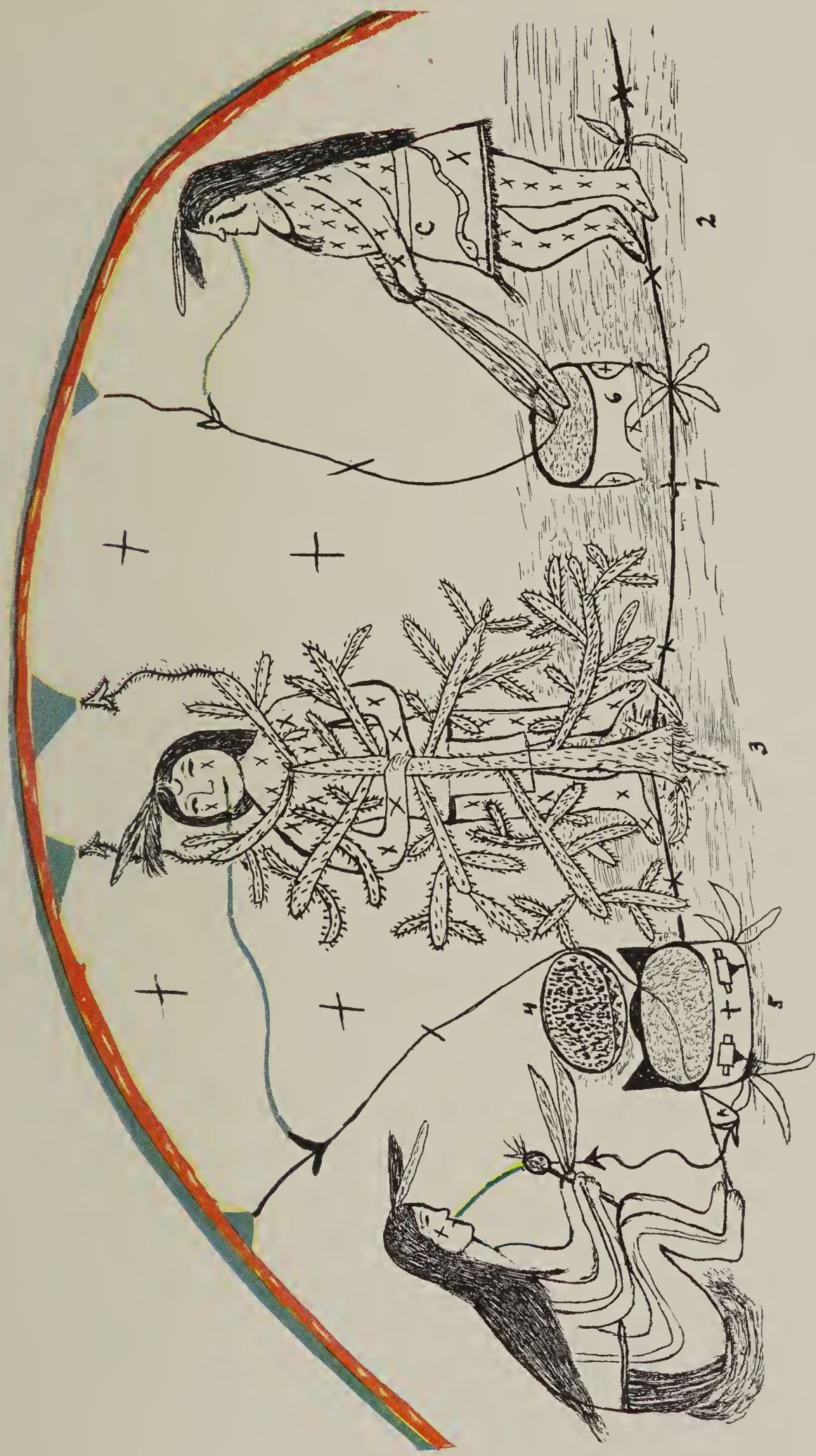
Tangiping (Parrot mountain) or Tabiano Cata (Gen. I, 11) is the present (1922) Summer chief. His moiety is of course Summer, his clan, Mountain eagle. He is fifty-nine, and he has been in office five years. In 1926 I got a different account from a Nambé-San Juan couple. In 1925 "they (the *pikæ* and the *apienu*) were making *payoke* (Summer Man)." The man they chose ran away, in order not to be forced into the office. In 1926 he was still absent. Meanwhile Tabiano Cata had volunteered to take care of the Mother. He did not know how, so he died. It was "too dangerous." The Mother was taken to the house of the *apienu*. Now, in 1927, another account clears up the situation. The old Summer chief was Tāhohe; Sun humming-bird, or José Aleito. His daughter had a fatherless child, who before his birth was vowed to the office of Summer chief by his grandfather and mother—Payoowi, Summer pueblo or altar, or Benito Aleito. After José Aleito died, his grandson, Benito, was either too young (he is now only thirty) or too unwilling to take office—he kept going away from the pueblo. So Cata was put in. In 1925 Cata died. Now, in 1927, Benito Aleito has been at length installed—*poætoyo kewin* (finished) as installation is called.

To Tabiana Cata, Muanye, Light-shaking, has been right-hand man. Muanye died and in his place was installed Nanape, Cottonwood prayer-feather, or Demasio Cata (house 75), nephew to Tabiana, his brother's son. Demasio is forty-one. He is not only senior to his present chief, but inferably more experienced. And yet he was not appointed Summer chief; but a younger, less experienced and reluctant man who had been vowed to the office. An illustration here, apparently, of the compulsion to fulfill a dedicatory vow.

Left-hand man to Tabiana Cata and still to his successor, Benito Aleito, is Po'tsæ, Snow white, or José Montoya. Aged twenty-six. He is called left-hand man, but he is not yet authenticated—he has not been initiated or installed—he is not “finished,” and is used only as a messenger.

Tsigowenu, Lightning, or Maximiliano Cruz became Winter chief in the winter of 1922-3, at the age of forty-one. He was installed a year after the death of his predecessor. The deceased Winter chief, Tseka, Spruce, or Romano (Rumaldo) Cruz, and the father of Maximiliano Cruz were brothers, i.e., the present Winter chief is the paternal nephew of his predecessor,²²³ to whom he had been right-hand man. He had been “given” to his uncle when sick when a little boy. The former left-hand man (Gen. I, 9) is now right-hand man. Incidentally we may note that this assistant is senior in years to his chief. Likewise of a different clan, the chief being Mountain eagle, and the right-hand assistant, Red stone, concrete evidence of the complete dissociation between chieftaincy and clanship. From another account the right-hand man is Yotsire, Cactus bird, or Felix Castellano (aged 65) and the left-hand man, Ohuwape, Kachina prayer-feather, or Santana Archuleita (Gen. I, 9). As messenger for them serves a boy called Pobitsire, Flower bird, or José Inaz Trujillo. He has not been installed, I was told; however, pl. 16 is a representation of his installation—*oyike pina*

²²³ M.C. called R.C. *tqnq* and was called *nabi é*.



Installation ceremony of a Winter Man of San Juan

1. Winter chief (*oyike sendo*).
2. Right-hand man.
3. Initiate.
4. Ritual meal basket.
5. Medicine water bowl (*pokwin*).
6. Hot water bowl, *pinq posuwa*, (see p. 227).
7. Track of the chaparral cock on the meal road.

kewe, Winter Man, magic, (?) completion. In this picture Tsiguwenu sits to the left, "showing how to make his people *oyike*." His right hand man, Yotsire, stands to the right, "praying to Clouds, Rain, Lightning, Thunder, to the Ohuwa, to come soon with their *pina* to help make a good *oyike*." Pobitsire stands in the middle, holding a large cactus.

Santa Clara

Associated with the Winter chief besides his right and his left, are seven men and five women; associated with the Summer chief besides his right and left, are five men and six women.²²⁴ This additional membership is recruited through sickness, but there is no curing ritual. A sick person may be given or self-vowed²²⁵ to either group, so may a child before birth. In either case a name is given to the recruit.

The change from summer to winter charge, and vice versa, by the summer and winter groups seems not to be as marked at Santa Clara as at San Juan, or San Ildefonso. There is even a suggestion that it is expressed differently. It is the Summer chief who appoints the secular officers²²⁶ and on New Year's Day passes on the governor's cane, the Summer chief "because it is coming summer now," i.e., the *payoke sendo* works in winter towards summer, and correspondingly the *oyike sendo* works in summer towards winter.

The Summer chief is Florentino Sisnero, a middle-aged man who came into office two or three years ago, succeeding José Maria Naranho, deceased. Sisnero had been right-hand man to Naranho. The men were unrelated. The clan of both was unknown to my informant.

²²⁴ In both groups the women only take food to the men, "they do not stay with them" during ceremonial. At San Juan it was stated positively that no women "looked after" the men.

²²⁵ Like the owner of house 58 who gave himself to the Winter chief, changing his moiety.

²²⁶ This political control by the Summer people may be an outcome of their ascendancy as forming the Progressive party.

The Winter chief is an older man who has been in office six years—Pobiwĩ (Flower standing) or Severo Naranho. He succeeded to José Manue[l] Naranho,²²⁷ his father's brother. Severo Naranho had been given to the group when he was sick in boyhood. He belongs to the Badger clan, an affiliation known to my informant because he is related to her, being her father's brother's son. She is herself one of the women in his ceremonial group, "five women we are." Unrelated to Naranho is his right hand man and presumptive successor, Bira Butire. When Severo Naranho was selected for office, the group stayed inside *kwæri* kiva twelve days, and there was a night-time dance, presumably kachina, in the kiva. Everybody had a feast.

San Ildefonso

*Oyike sen^{do}*²²⁸ and *payoke sen^{do}* or *poingtuyo*²²⁹ has each in his group four men, right-hand man, left-hand man, and two others.²³⁰ The present Winter chief, Powi or Agapito Peña, Winter, Grass, is fifty-six. The present Summer chief, Te^{et}tse, Summer, Sun, is forty-one, and has been in office three years. He is no relation to his predecessor.

Nambé and Tesuque

The last Summer chief of Nambé died about 1908, and the last Winter chief, Tseyt'a (Yellow mark)²³¹ or Francisco Anaiya, a Sand clansman, about 1900.²³² His "right-hand man," Awipi or Agustin Vihil (house 6), Winter, survives. Vihil's father had

²²⁷ Father of Genealogy III, 12.

²²⁸ His wife is referred to as *oyike kwiyo*.

²²⁹ In a San Ildefonso folk-tale *poingtuyo kwiyo* is referred to, in English, as "our head woman." In a San Juan folk-tale the wife of the *poingtuyo* is instructed to bring food and water during a ceremonial retreat, and to sweep the room, in *poingtuyo's* own house where men are ritually at work.

²³⁰ According to a woman informant each chief was alone, *solo*, she affirmed, without assistants.

²³¹ This was his infant name; his name of initiation was not used.

²³² Harrington in 1910 refers to the single Town chief (cacique), as Winter chief (Harrington, 2, 361).

also been "right-hand man" to the Winter chief. Hopeanye or Rumaldo (Ramon) Padilla (house 2) is "left-hand man" as his father's brother had been. Rumaldo was appointed to the office. Muanye or Alcario Peña, a Weasel clansman (house 9), has been talked of for Summer chief "since he was a little boy." I infer he was dedicated to the office, as he had been to the *kossa* chieftaincy.²³³ K'oping or Salvador Garcia (house 8) is "right-hand man" and Tseapi or Loretto Vihil²³⁴ is "left-hand man." Now in 1927 they are talking of "giving water" in October to Oye'ping (Hoar frost mountain) or Agoyope or Ricardo Tafoya (house 16), great nephew of the last Summer chief.

About 1918 it was decided to make Posetsire or José de la Cension Peña (uncle to Pitasio Peña in house 3) Winter chief—with the help of Tesuque. All the Winter people of Nambé went to Tesuque, where there was a retreat of four days by the Winter chief and his associates. This ceremony was to initiate the waiting period of one year which is called *wahsoge*, egg set or to lay an egg. At the conclusion of the year there would have been the installation ceremony of twelve days, also at Tesuque, had not Posetsire run away. He told the governor of Nambé he was going away to work for the supplies necessary to the installing; but he did not return for the installation. When he did return to Nambé he became blind, and there was no question but that this was the punishment due him. Now he lives with a sister married into San Juan.

Between San Juan and Nambé there are several intermarriages, and in one such Nambé household it was opined that if the people had gone, not to Tesuque, but to San Juan, "the head pueblo," for help in procuring their Town chief, the event might have turned out otherwise. "Although Tesuque keeps to *all* its old ways, it could not do anything."

However, in the case of installing the Nambé "left-hand man" to Winter chief, Tesuque put it through all right. As

²³³ See p. 131.

²³⁴ Lives one mile out of town. In 1926, governor of Nambé.

usual a year after the ceremony of setting the egg, the installation ceremonial was held—a few days before Christmas. The initiate was bathed every midnight in the river, through the ice. This bath renders him hard, making his meat (flesh) and bones like ice, because he is to be an ice man. (“Every one says it is harder to be Winter people than Summer people” commented the informant, herself a Winter person.) Women were not allowed into the ceremonial room until the last night. “We women (the Nambé kinswomen of the initiate) took dinner to them.” Two women would go together and any woman who was pregnant and wanted a boy baby would like to be one of the women to go. Two war captains would come to the door of the ceremonial room to receive the bowl of food. One war captain would carry a bowl of medicine water, the other would give a drink from it to the women. On the pregnant woman the other woman will spit the water, rubbing it over the woman, and say, “Expect a baby boy.” If anybody is looking on, the woman will carry the water in her mouth to her house²³⁵ and there spit it over the pregnant woman. On the last night of the ceremony corn meal is dropped into boiling water, which the Winter Men stir around four times with their fingers, without being burned. Are they not ice men? Then they give the dough to the women present who take it home as medicine for burns. The bowl of hot water on the altar represented in pl. 16 presumably refers to this rite.

The fetich, referred to as *saiya*, grandmother, on the altar of the Tesuque Winter chief was a large round cactus (*yoh*) girt with feathers and with “icicles that do not melt.” *Nambi yosé tara* (his cactus stomach father) and *nambi yosé iya* (his cactus stomach mother), are terms of reference to this fetich, “his god,”²³⁶ translated Benina. The *oyika* (ice mother) of the

²³⁵ Medicine water may be carried thus by the Hopi, probably by other Pueblos also.

²³⁶ It was brought from *Kusæping*, where for initiations “they get all their gods.” See p. 179. In a Tesuque tale Cactus youth lives on Turquoise mountain. (Parsons, 4, 116).

Winter chief is a white stone representing ice. It is kept covered with a mat of willow. The left-hand Winter Man at his installation was given a like *oyika*. Now, later, I am told that this man, Padilla, is considered the right-hand man, and Vihil, the Winter chief proper, and that both men were installed at the same ceremonial.²³⁷

The relations between the Winter Men of Tesuque and the Winter Men of Nambé remain close. Whenever the Winter people of Tesuque present a dance, the Winter Men of Nambé are fetched to Tesuque and the women of their families contribute to the feast. The Winter chief of Tesuque comes to Nambé for the dance of the Winter *oxuwah*.

The Winter chief of Tesuque is Tąkwææ, Sun buzzard, or Teopilo. His right-hand man is Hopobi, Corn flower, or Juan Corriz, his left-hand man, Po'tsæ, Snow white, or Carloto Suaso. They have about six helpers. The Summer chief is Pobiping, Flower mountain, or Hinio Garcia. He is an old man. His right-hand is Payotsire, Summer bird, or Juan José Pino; his left-hand, Tąta, Sun mark, or Manuel Vihil. They, too, have about six helpers. Benina of Nambé opines that recruiting is through self-vow.

MEDICINE SOCIETY

The medicine or doctoring society is called *pu'fona*.²³⁸ It is recruited through vowing to it sick persons;²³⁹ but patients are not necessarily given to the society.

The *pu'fona* are the exorcising or, to use the Pueblo vernacular, cleaning society. They "clean" the race track for the runners.²⁴⁰ In one of the San Juan Emergence tales they are

²³⁷ See pp. 227-9.

²³⁸ This is the quasi-esoteric term. *Wokondi* is the usual term for doctor. *Keh*, Bear, is the term in use at Nambé and Tesuque. *Pu* means root; possibly the term *Pufona* refers to their root medicine.

²³⁹ See p. 125 for initiation through a kind of trespass or meddling.

²⁴⁰ See pp. 233-235.

referred to as cleaning for the new town settlement. Like their homologues elsewhere, they "clean" the fields. In a general account it was stated that the Summer Man and Winter Man went with tobacco and meal to the *pu'fona* to ask them to go out at night with their feathers (of exorcism) and clean up the fields and the pueblo.

San Juan

There are two *pu'fona* societies, *tsaiyo pu'fona*, cut big *pu'fona*, (also referred to as *pahpufona*, fire *pufona*) and *tsihpu-fona*, flint *pu'fona*. This from my last reliable authority, an earlier informant said there was but one *pu'fona* society which consisted of ten male members, and four female. This is the membership of the Flint *pufona*. The women "take care of them," i.e., of the men, and do not cure. The *pu'fona sen^{do}* is very old, he is accounted the oldest man in town.²⁴¹ "They say when *pu'fona sen^{do}* dies, all will break up, no more *pu'fona*." Since this was written the Flint *pufona sendo*, José Antonio Garcia (see house 5), has died (1924) and Opahbe, Ramos Archuleta (see house 81 and pl. 1), has succeeded him. Ramos Archuleta²⁴² has been for many years the most influential man in town. Everybody likes him, and the young men pay more attention to him than to anyone. He was right-hand man to Garcia. Now, right-hand man to Ramos is Nanatsey (Cottonwood yellow) or Bautisto Awino, and left-hand man is Tseyohuwa (Spruce *ohuwa*) or Walupi Garcia. Of Fire *pufona* there are but two, *Ta* (Sun) or José Maria Cruz, Fire *pufona sendo*, and his right-hand man, Koping (Buffalo mountain) or Santiago Archuleita.

The *pu'fona* have been recruited through the characteristic Pueblo form of self-dedicatory vow. "When a boy is sick he lets

²⁴¹ See p. 40.

²⁴² The mother of Ramos was a Nambé woman, sister of Genealogy V, 2, but the Nambé cousin of Ramos did not know his clan, one more illustration of the failure of the Tewa clan to function as a social unit.

all his relations (*matui*) know that he wants to belong to *pu'fona*. Somebody goes to the *pu'fona* house to tell them he wants to belong to them. Then he gets well."

Sucking out what has got into the body,²⁴³ by accident or by witchcraft, and which is the cause of the sickness, is here as elsewhere in vogue. A story was told at San Juan of the use of sucking by the *pu'fona* in behalf of the child of the white storekeeper who was his friend.²⁴⁴ The child had swallowed a nail from a doll. Castor oil was first tried, without success. Then the *pu'fona* was summoned and he sucked out the nail.

In a difficult labor one of two or three *pu'fona* is summoned. Among the women *pu'fona* there is a midwife (*eyehægedikwi*, have baby, help, woman) who is referred to as *iya*, mother. One such midwife there is said to be in each set of *pu'fona* in each pueblo except Nambé where they call on the *pu'fona* midwife of Tesuque. (See p. 14).

Rosita of San Juan could recall no instance of snake bite.²⁴⁵ Her grandfather had been struck by lightning, a long time ago; since then there had been no lightning struck case.²⁴⁶ The idea of curing for lightning shock or for snake bite seemed unfamiliar.

Clairvoyance ²⁴⁷ or prediction is a *pu'fona* endowment. They always know what anybody is thinking. Once there was a San Juan *pu'fona* who "always told the truth, he would tell his patient if he were going to live or die. But people got scared, they did not want to know when they were going to die. So now *pu'fona* don't say, they just give medicine." Also

²⁴³ Such as "pointed things and stones," see p. 146. In another San Juan tale when Lightning's belly is cut open, in it is found "nothing good, only sticks and stones and pointed things."

²⁴⁴ And also a friend of the Bears. See p. 252.

²⁴⁵ A snake found in town would be killed and burned. "They don't belong here," people say, "but in the hills." Still, in a folk-tale, meal is offered to the Snakes, just as it is elsewhere. And there is a Snake doctor (see p. 123) who cures, to be sure, for burns or sores rather than snake bite.

²⁴⁶ My Santa Clara informant knew of no case.

²⁴⁷ Through gazing into the medicine bowl. See pp. 125, 257, 304n. 575.

they give their patient *kaye*, bear or lion fetich, to wear in his belt.

Bear legs are used as elsewhere as receptacles for altar paraphernalia. And from a San Juan folk-tale it is plain that bears are the tutelary spirits of the *pu'fona*. Bear old man and Bear old woman are described as returning to their den, early in the morning, from a night curing ceremony where they were



Fig. 2. *Oxuwa fendi tuyose*, Black Cloud chief.
Drawn by a townsman of San Juan.

helping the *pu'fona* and were paid by them with wafer-bread and sweet corn, just as elsewhere the human doctors are paid with food. The Bears have only to hang their skins up on the wall to become human.

Another San Juan folk-tale is so explicit in regard to bewitching through a "doll" and to *pu'fona* methods that it calls

for quotation. See pp. 124-5. In this tale it is indicated that although the boy is the fastest of runners, yet is he caught by the *pu'fona*. In another San Juan tale it is explicitly stated that the *pu'fona* or one to whom they give their medicine can levitate and fly. And Bear men of Nambé are described as travelling both underground and in the air, great distances in brief periods,



Fig. 3. Companion to Black Cloud chief.
Drawn by a townsman of San Juan.

a facility I have found greatly emphasized as a trait of the doctors of Isleta.

Four masks belong to the *pu'fona*—*oxuwa fendi tuyose* (*oxuwa* black chief man) (see fig. 2) who whips at the initiation into the Society, and who appears also at moiety initiations, and three others whose names I failed to learn. (See figs. 3, 6, 7). All four appear at the general curing ceremony in the spring.

Santa Clara

There is but one society—the *pa'pufona* (fire *pufona*). Formerly there were *tsih* (flint) *pufona*. Medicine men are referred to generically as *keh*^e (Bears). In the *pa'pufona* there are twelve men and seven women. The *pa'pufona sen^{do}* or chief is Walupi Naranho, his “right” is Damasio Naranho, who, despite of name, is unrelated.

The *pa'pufona* have animal fetiches in their keeping.

San Ildefonso

There are two sets of *pu'fona*, the *pahpu'fona* and the *tewa pu'fona* from Santa Clara. The Fire *pu'fona* are said to consist of five men and no women, and the *tewa pu'fona* of six men and two women. Chief of the Fire *pu'fona* is Tetse (Cotton eagle). Chief of the *tewa pu'fona* is Kenyo, Summer, Grass. (house 4, list A). The *tewa pu'fona* have the images of the war gods (*towa'e*) in their keeping. The Fire *pu'fona* use one of the Winter people's kivas.

Tesuque

The doctors are called *keh*, Bear, and there are two societies, *tema keh* (*tema*, Keresan) or *pahpufona*, and *tewa keh* (*tewa* meaning home-made) or *tsih pufona*.²⁴⁸ The Fire *pufona* chief is Poyota (Spotted Reed) or Tomas Suaso, and the Flint *pufona* chief is Kota (Spotted Corn) or Pakunda Sanchi. One of the “Bears” is Pose or Merce Vihil who is mentioned as the most influential man in Tesuque.

In June, 1927, a Tesuque boy was at work in a mill at Bernalillio with a Zia boy. The Tesuque boy's arm got black; the Zia boy had bewitched him. The Tesuque boy went home and was initiated into the Fire *pufona* (? *tema pufona*) and then into the *tewa kossa*. His *kossa* cure initiation was completed at once;

²⁴⁸ An exact parallel to the Isletan system of Town Fathers and Laguna Fathers.

but as *pufona* he was not finished. A year after being "given water" he will go through the final twelve day initiation, i.e., in June, 1928.

Peculiar to Tesuque is a snake society which cures for sores, burns, and grave sickness—*pæyo keh* (snake big, bear) or Big snake doctors.

Four Bear men from Tesuque visited Nambé in 1917 to cooperate in the ceremony held at that time against the influenza epidemic.

Nambé

Formerly there were the two societies, *tsih keh* (Flint bear) and *Tewa keh*. Today but two doctors or Bear men of the medicine organization survive—the old man or chief, Pūwatsæ of the Grass clan, a Summer man (house 11), and Muaping, Weasel clan, Summer (house 1). In the spring of 1928 there is to be an initiation. As elsewhere curing consists largely of witch catching, securing the doll or creature which is called *chuge* (*tsuge*), witch. "What kind of witch did they catch?" will be asked about a cure. It may be a *witsuge*, rag [doll] witch or a *musa tsuge*, cat witch, or a *tsire tsuge*, bird witch (particularly a woodpecker, *pio'*). An actual cat or bird is brought in by the doctor. See p. 305.

The doctor chews *patowa wo'pu* (medicine root) which makes him "like drunk" and very brave.

A curing ceremony witnessed at Nambé by a San Juan man of Nambé descent was in part described. The patient was a girl of ten. Red ants had been sent into her body by a witch (*chuge*). To her house all her relations (*matui'i*) were invited, among them my informant of San Juan. The patient was thoroughly bathed, then she was placed nude on a blanket and the *pufona* with his feathers brushed her. The red ants fell off her and on to the blanket. The ants did not move away from the blanket, and they were thrown into the fire.

Snake Doctor (pæyo pufona or keh)

This medicine-man is not associated with the curing societies, nor has he any associates; he cures on his own—sores and burns. His outstanding curing trait is, instead of using feathers to brush with, to lick the afflicted parts with his tongue. At San Juan the Snake doctor is Yellow buffalo or Carnacion Montoya (who is also the Eagle doctor—see p. 206); at Tesuque, Poætsire (Water runs bird) or Elaiyo Vihil is Snake doctor; and at Nambé, Hotsæ (Corn white) or Pimenio Tafoya (house 4).

There is at Nambé a Snake kachina who brings medicine to the people for burns.

*The Witch Doll*²⁴⁹

There was a boy married to the daughter of *pu'fona sendo*. This *pu'fona sendo* had *pinqn* to catch witches. The boy did not believe that *pu'fona sendo* had *pinqn*. The boy was a fast runner, nobody could beat him. *Pu'fona sendo* stayed in four nights, and after four days everybody would go into the Big kiva, men and women, and *pu'fona* would give them medicine. The Outside chief would go around to every house to call them. About this time (4 P.M.), this girl was washing her husband's head, and he was thinking, "I am going to see if they have *pinqn*, if it is a lie or the truth. I am going to make a doll, and I wonder if they can catch me." She combed his hair well. He got a rag and shook it well and put it under his blanket. He got another and put it under his blanket and he got another and put it under his blanket. "This is enough, I can make a big doll." He went to the river, and sat down and began to make the doll. He made ears and eyes and mouth and he held it out and looked at it. "I think it is good," he said. He made arms, too. "I am going to lay it here, and after supper I will come after it." He laid it down and covered it with earth. He left and as he went he looked back and there was the doll running after him. "*Hewembohraqhi*! it lives," he said. He caught it and laid it down and covered it. This time it did not run after him again. He came home. That night his wife and father and mother were bathing and washing their head to get ready. "Where were you so long?" said his wife. "Just taking a walk," he said. They got ready. It was growing dark. They said, "We will go first, so the women can get good seats, the men last; when you come, lock the house."—"I am going to get ready now to go *chuge* (witch)." He took off his shirt and trousers and tied up

²⁴⁹ For a close Keresan parallel in witch-catching, also for a picture of a witch "doll," see Dumarest, 163-165, fig. 1.

his hair way up on his head and got *to* (white clay) and put it all over his head. He had a looking-glass. "I need something yet." He got a ragged old dress. He tied it around his arms and legs, under his knees. He put black paint (hand prints) over each shoulder. "If they catch me, they have *pinan*. If they do not catch me, they have no *pinan*." As he was getting ready, in came the doll. "*Hewemboharqhi*! this is alive." He caught it and went out. Those *pu'fona* were at work now. Those Outside chiefs were up on a roof and looking around. This boy, nobody saw him, he got a little stone and threw it at the Outside chief. Nobody saw him, the witch helped him. Then they looked in their medicine bowl, and saw that boy, what he was doing. The *pu'fona* got mad and threw out their arms, and that hit him outside. So he went to his house, running into his father's house, the doll under his arm. He hid way up high behind the corn store. They went in, those *pu'fona*, and took him down. He was struggling. There were lots of people in the kiva and they took him in with his doll. They did not know who it was. They sat him down where those *pu'fona* were sitting. That *pu'fona sendo*! it was his *soningi*.²⁵⁰ His mother and his wife they did not know about it as yet. Then he said, "Here they are all together. You must believe in what our Mother is working here for us. But my own son does not believe in it. Now he will see." And he gave him medicine. And the boy looked in the water, and he saw himself in there. "My wife is combing my hair." He thinks how he was shaking out the rags. He sees himself shaking one rag, then another. He thinks of how he went up to the river, and made a doll. "There I am hiding the doll. Then I went along with the doll running after me. I caught it again and hid it again. And I came into my house and my wife gave me to eat and my wife went to the kiva with my mother and sister. And I was painting with white, and putting on black hand prints, and tying an old dress on my arms and legs. Then came the doll and I took him." He was talking of all he had done. "I came out and threw a stone at the Outside chief and ran away, and when the *pu'fona* shook their arms at me I nearly fell down, and ran away and hid way up in the stack. They followed me, caught me, brought me into the kiva." All this he saw in the bowl. So now he believed, and he became *pu'fona*.

CLOWN SOCIETY

At first I was inclined to associate the two groups, *kossa* and *kwirana*, with the moiety classification, biased as I was by comparative data from Isleta, Jemez, and the Keres; but the Tewa details do not support this view. Membership in

²⁵⁰ Male connection by marriage, i.e., son-in-law. Laughter here, the situation seemed very comic to both narrator and interpreter.

the groups is through trespass or dedication, and, as we shall see, there are Summer and Winter peoples in both groups. Furthermore, in one of the San Juan Emergence tales, after the creation of the *kossa* prototypes by *pikæ sendo*, from the meal of two ears of sweet-corn made into images called *tapayachiamu*,²⁵¹ one *kossa* travels with the Summer people and the other *kossa* with the Winter people. In the kiva of Nambé, let me recall, the two centre posts are striped black and white to represent the *kossa*, one for the Summer people, the other for the Winter people, who are seated on different sides of the kiva.

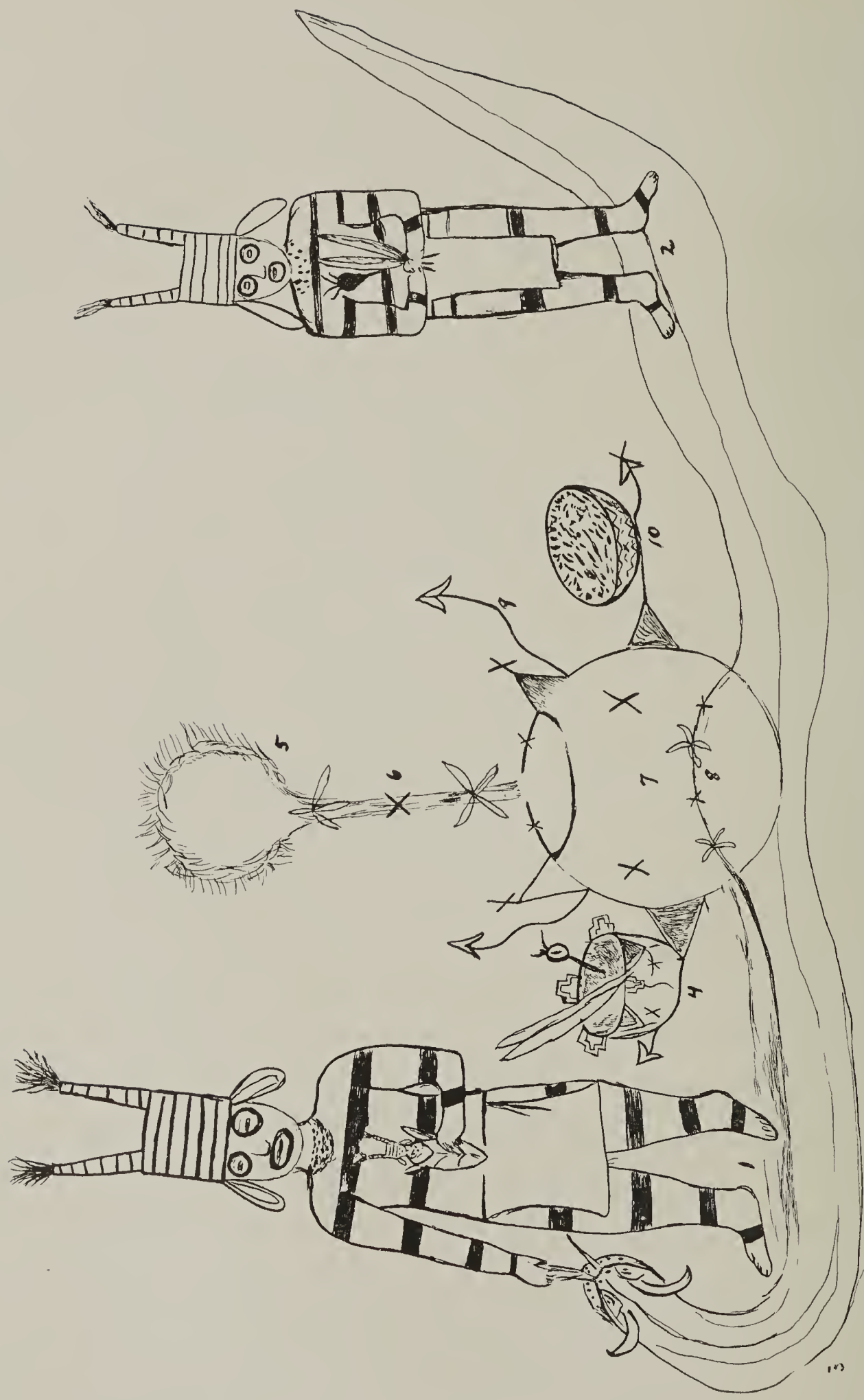
There are few *kwirana* anywhere, and little to be learned about them. At Nambé it was said that "the *kossa* come first." The lake or spring of both Nambé and Tesuque *kwirana* is at Cochiti.

The *kossa* come out to play in the kachina dances without mask and in the mask dances. In the San Juan folk-tale of the boy who lets the kachina escape to dance, the *kossa* are also let out, i.e., kachina and *kossa* are associated together, and *kossa*, like kachina, contribute to rainfall. The corn husk pokes of the headdress of the *kossa* are called *sohua* (mist). The Tewa *kossa* have rain-making prototypes or spirit patrons,²⁵² as have the Keresan *koshare*.

I referred to the tale of the escaping kachina. In other San Juan folk-tales the association between the *kossa* and the kachina is still plainer. The little boys who are performing the trial of magic, before they summon the kachina, make themselves look like *kossa*, painting themselves black and white with ashes; and in the tale of the masker who breaks his taboo of continence, after the *kossa* talk to the kachina

²⁵¹ Compare the Keresan term *payetemu*, youth, as applied to the *koshare* who are Sun youths; also the Jemez term *patyabo*, for the patron of their Clown society, the *tabösh* (Parsons, 3, 126).

²⁵² Referred to, as noted, as *tapayachiamu*.



Kossa altar ceremony, San Juan

1. *Kossa* chief. 2. *Kossa* assistant. 3. Horned water snake. 4. Medicine bowl, in it, the gourd rattle and exorcising feathers of *Kossa* old man. 5. Sun Lake, outlined in ritual meal. 6. Meal "road" with chaparral cock "tracks" and corn husks and feathers. 7. *Posendo*, Water old man. 8. Ritual road. 9. Lightning (*tsigoweno pinq*). 10. Ritual meal basket.

and tell them to go home, the *kossa* catch the culprit and try to remove the mask which sticks to him.

At Nambé it was said that if the river went dry or flooded, the *kossa* would ask Avanyo, the Horned Water Serpent (see p. 274), for help to bring water or to check it. They asked in their house with their *pokwinge* (medicine bowl) i.e., altar. See pl. 17 and below.

In one of the San Juan Emergence tales the *kossa* are referred to as sprinkling with their medicine water in all the directions as they pray for increase of the people, for "lots of children." The *kossa*, again like the *koshare* of the Keres, have a phallic function.

San Juan

The *kwirana* are represented but by one man, a man of the Summer people, Poyuntsire, Water pointed bird,²⁵³ or José Domingo Cruz, and two women, Payotsey, Summer yellow, or Ramona Martinez (aged fifty) and Yąkatsawipokwi, Willow leaf blue lake, or Doloreta Cruz, the sister of José Domingo Cruz. The *kwirana* never "come out," it was said. "When *kwirano sendo* dies (he is twenty-eight) there won't be any more *kwirana* because women don't give their sick baby boys any more to the *kwirana*." The *kwirana* were recruited by the dedication of male infants vowed by their parents. *Eme kwirano*, give to *kwirana*,²⁵⁴ is the term in use. José Domingo Cruz had been thus dedicated by his mother who before his birth went blind, so she gave her unborn child to them.

The *kwirana* are supposed to come out to play at the request of the war captain. The last time they were out was

²⁵³ Dives from tree for fish; eats fish only; sings at river, only at night.

²⁵⁴ The Keresan term *wikori*, associated with the Keresan *kurena* or *kwirano*, was familiar and identified with *kwirana*. The Keresan taboos on their *kurena* in the matter of eating Rocky Mountain bee plant and jack-rabbit were unfamiliar. Nor were chicken-hawk feathers associated with the *kwirana*.

at a Basket dance, about ten years ago. At this dance the war captain decides whether to call out the *kwirana* or the *kossa*. The dances the *kossa* habitually come out for are: Basket dance, Turtle dance, *powin share*, and *antere share*.

Of the *kossa* there are seven, two of them Summer people, of whom one is the society chief, *kossa seno*; and five, Winter people. Pobikan, Flower round, or José Leandro Atencio is the chief, with Tananye, Sun moving, or Lorenzo Aguino, as his right-hand man. They are represented in pl. 17. In this picture of an altar ceremony the chief is "asking *pinq* (magic), of the big green snake, Abanyu sedo, to bring lots of water in the river and ditch. *Kossa* old man is giving Abanyu old man some white corn meal (ritual meal) to eat, and he is sprinkling his head with corn pollen so he can go to rest in the river." In his hand *Kossa* old man holds the fetich image of his patron spirit, Payachiamu—the *pinq kossa*. The assistant *kossa* ("second hand *kossa*") is "praying to Abanyu old man to make good *pinq* (magic) to bring good rains and a good spring for raising corn and wheat." Sun lake (*tan pokwin*), "where they make *kossa*" i.e. the "place of initiation" (See p. 226) is depicted on the altar, presumably with lines of meal. On the "road" from the "lake" to what is either a circle in meal or a jar, probably a water jar called Water old man, are lines representing the tracks of the chaparral cock (*ogowi pinq*), also pieces of corn cob or husk (*pinq ku*), whether actual or in representation does not appear plain, and a feather. The *kossa* are recruited through trespass. A semi-circle is marked in white on the ground fronting an unoccupied house (see map, house 84) and any little boy running inadvertently into this "ash house" or "kitchen," so-called because in it on a blanket the *kossa* place the food collected from domiciliary visits, is thereby "caught" for membership. But among the *kossa*, too, membership is lapsing. *Kossa* boys "won't go out to play." One of the present Winter Town chieftaincy group was "caught" as a boy and his mother (Gen. I, 1) said he had to go with the *kossa*. Nowadays he

never goes with them, simply because he does not want to. . . . Nevertheless, this year (1927) there was an initiation, from trespass. At the Turtle dance (1926) an older man strayed into the "kitchen." That same night he was "given water," i.e., the preliminary initiation was made, and the following September he was completely initiated (*kossa kewin*, finished). After a four days' retreat in the house of *kossa sendo* he was taken to Big kiva where people assembled. That night two *pufona* kachina came. The day following outdoors was performed the circle dance called *kossa kewin*.

In their ash house the *kossa* build a fire. In collecting food they may move from roof to roof. They call out, *k'i'! ki'i'!* "And so we give them bread." (They are *not* meal besprinkled or prayed to like the *koyemshi* of Zuñi.) When the *kossa* are out playing they may go to the corrals and pick up chickens to take to their "kitchen" to cook and eat.

Whenever the *kossa* are going to come out to play they pray to Pahtehenu, Fire boy, for a good day. With ashes in their hand they "ask" him, and then sprinkle the ashes in the directions. . . . No masks or *oxuwa* are associated with the *kossa*.

The *kossa* are ringed black and white and wear their hair in a poke on each side of the head, with husks. Short hair necessitates a cap (see pl. 22), which is made to imitate the sometime headdress,²⁵⁵ an amusing little illustration of how the Pueblo can adjust new traits with old. The *kwirana* man is painted white all over, including his face, and he wears his hair in one poke, made of hide, on top of his head, with a corn husk tassel.

Santa Clara

The *kwirana* have long disappeared. There are two kinds of *kossa*, *oke* (San Juan) *kossa* of whom there are three, and

²⁵⁵ The First Mesa *koyala* (formerly called *kossa*) do not wear their hair in pokes, but belted behind. If a man's hair is short he will use a stocking to imitate a queue. . . . *Koyala* have a bunch of sheep hoofs tied around the ankle in front. Their bandolier "lunch" consist of *piki*, oblongs of wafer-bread.

Nambé *kossa*, of whom there are six.²⁵⁶ The *oke kossa* are painted white and black, they visit San Juan to take part in the Basket dance. The Nambé *kossa* are painted white and yellow. Two of them will visit Nambé during Summer dances there. Initiation into the group is performed at Nambé. Their "lake" or spring is *kate pokwinge*, east of Nambé.

Recruiting in both Santa Clara societies is through dedication either before birth or in sickness.²⁵⁷

The *oke kossa* are an innovation, Peru (Pedro) Cahete (Gen. III, 3) is the first man to hold the office of *oke kossa sen^do*. Pedro Cahete is away a great deal. He goes to dance for pay at Manitou, Colorado, and "he is very rich." Tapi (Sun comes out) or Pomenio Sisnero is the *Nambé kossa sen^do*. His "right" is Genealogy III, 36 who was "given to them" before birth. He got a name from the *kossa*, but it has not been used and it is said to be forgotten.

San Ildefonso

Twenty-five years or more ago the last two *kwi'rano* died. Nowadays six *kwi'rano*²⁵⁸ from Tesuque may come to San Ildefonso to play. . . . So much for my lying informant. In 1927 I learned that there are two *kwirano* in San Ildefonso—Wæpi (Tail red or Hawk) or Placido Sanchez (list B, house 2) who is *kwirano sendo*, and Kuwiye (Squirrel) or Juan Martinez.

There are three male *kossa*, *kossa sen^do*, who is also the Winter chief (pl. 26) and his right and left, and two female *kossa*.

Tesuque

Although my Tesuque informant said there was but one *kwirano*, from Nambé I learn²⁵⁷ that²⁵⁸ there are eight—four men and four women. Their chief lives, however, at Cochiti, where their lake is.

²⁵⁶ Six men and three women, according to a Nambé informant.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Dumarest, 191.

²⁵⁸ But see below.

There are five *tema kossa*, all men, their chief or *tema kossa sendo* being Agoyotsire (Star bird) or Juan Jesus Pina. He is from San Ildefonso married into Tesuque. In 1927 he was governor, not for the first time. (See pl. 15.) There are four *tewa kossa*, all men. Tamutsire, Dawn bird, or Tomas Suaso is their chief. In June, 1927, as noted, there was an initiation, together with a four day curing ceremonial. No kachina officiated.

Nambé

There are three *kossa*, Ko'ping of house 8, a Winter man, Puwatsæ of house 11, a Summer man, and one other, perhaps Tsehpuma²⁵⁹ (house 4), but the office of chief—*kossa sendo*—is vacant.²⁶⁰ Muaanye of house 9, a Summer man, has been talked of for it. It is said that when his father was dying he promised him to (?) Ko'ping. Muaanye says, however, that he himself never heard from his father of this dedication. I heard of another boy promised by his father. The boy of seven or eight was sick—"his body shook all over." After his dedication he recovered. His father had told all his relations about the dedication and they had agreed to it. Then the boy's father died, also *kossa sendo*. So the family did nothing about it. "If we get *kossa sendo* again, he (the boy, now a young man) might become *kossa*." "If he is not made *kossa* during his life they will make him *kossa* in the Lake after he dies."

At the conclusion of an initiation into the *kossa* an outdoor dance is performed by all the *kossa* members.²⁶¹

There are two *kwirana*, Muaping of house 1, a Summer man, and Tahpokwin, a Summer woman (house 17). The deceased mother of Puwatsey in house 10 was a *kwirana*. When the

²⁵⁹ See 17.

²⁶⁰ It was filled by a Tafoya who was a Summer man of the Weasel (*wiye*) clan. In house 5 his widow still keeps his sacrosanct properties.

²⁶¹ Sp. p. 195.

kwirana sendo or chief died, they took his things to Cochiti because the *kwirana* belong there, where they have a large spring. They took his Mothers and stone images with eyes and mouth in turquoise or white shell.²⁶² This account is support for a surmise that the *kwirana* society was borrowed from the Keres. Also, in support of this hypothesis, we may recall that at Taos there is but one clown society, the Black Eyes, the homologue of the *kossa* or *koshare*. Again, all the clowns may be referred to by the generic term of *kossa* and then subdivided into the Tewa or home *kossa* and the *kwirana kossa*.

Although moiety affiliations in the *kossa-kwirana* memberships appear not to count, the Tewa *kossa* will be described as "for summer," the *kwirana kossa*, "for winter."

HUNT CHIEF AND THE HUNT

San Juan

The *pikæ sendo* (mountain lion old man) is in charge of the rabbit hunts and of the Deer dance. He leads in the Deer dancers, making the road (see p. 195), in ceremonial costume. (See pl. 28.) In rabbit hunts he is not "fixed up," because on these occasions he can be seen by whites and Mexicans, and "he always hides from them." He announces the hunt, and he builds the preliminary fire. He is presumably in charge of the songs the hunters sing before starting and on their return.

The present *pikæ sendo* or Hunt chief is Agostin Chavez (Gen. I, 48), a man of thirty-two. The Hunt chief is chosen by the chiefs from the relatives (*matui*) of the deceased Hunt chief on the paternal side. If the succession is to be determined in winter they meet in the house of the Winter chief, if in summer, in the house of the Summer chief. All the townsmen

²⁶² Compare Dumarest, figs. 13, 31.

are summoned to the house. The office may also be filled by trapping; any man who steps into the hunt circle in the rabbit drive may be "trapped."

The first or prototypal *pikə sen^{do}* figures in the Emergence myth as *Kanyotsanyotse* [*Kənyotsəyoseh*],^{262a} the first emissary to the upper world, and the first to encounter the animals who both hurt and cure him. In the myth, *kanyotsanyotse* also installs the first Town chiefs. It is tempting to infer that *pikə sen^{do}* would figure today in a Town chief installation ceremony. Since writing this I have learned that he does indeed install—any chief—together with the Red bow youth society (see below). This function suggests a comparison of the office of *pikə* with the extinct office of *nahia* at Cochiti,^{262b} also with the Cochiti hunt society (*shikame*).^{262c}

In all the Tewa towns, as well as at Taos and in the eastern Keresan towns, the animal dances—Buffalo, Deer, etc.—are regularly given on Christmas or, more particularly, on Kings' day. Now Kings' day is also the day for installing the secular officers. In some cases the dance is performed before the houses of the new officers. These associations may not be historically insignificant and suggest that the Hunt chief once played a part also in installing the secular officers.

Rabbit hunts are made for the women; it was insisted that no hunts were made for the Town chiefs, although in 1923, a short time before the November ceremony of seasonal transfer, a hunt was held. A throwing stick is used, probably of the club type. Information about the boomerang type was uncertain. A rabbit in a hole is drawn out (as on First Mesa) by entangling its fur in a spiky stick. As usual the women run up to the successful hunter, the first to reach him receiving the quarry. As on First Mesa, the girl takes the hunter to her house,

^{262a} Mountain lion, white, man (Henderson and Harrington, 29).

^{262b} Cf. Goldfrank, 1: 39; Dumarest, 198–200.

^{262c} See Goldfrank, 1: 46. With *pikə* as pristine executive compare *fotease* of Jemez (Parsons, 3, 136).

the day of the hunt or the next day, and there she gives him a basket of meal to take home. The basket is returned filled with meat.

There is no eagle hunting (and no eagle *pinan*, supernaturalism it is said; but see p. 206.) Eagle feathers are bought from the Apache. I heard of a white man who had captured an eagle with a trap fastened to its claw taking the eagle to Santa Clara and bartering it for a horse.

Of bear or lion or deer hunting I could learn little or nothing, except that deer bones (also rabbit bones) are not thrown away indifferently; but taken by the deer (or rabbit) slayer to a shrine (*kayé*), any shrine in any direction, and deposited with corn meal, "so deer (and rabbits) won't all go away, so more deer (and rabbits) will come."^{262d} Offerings on the fire are not made to rabbits, as in other towns. In a folk-tale when all the relatives of a man's wife have been summoned to his house, they rejoice, thinking that the man must have killed a deer and is inviting them to share it. At Nambé I heard of a deer stone (*pæku*), inherited from "mother's father's grandfather." A deer with such a stone in his stomach could not be shot except by the hunter in possession of such a stone. For the hunter possessed of a deer stone, the medicine deer, as it is called at Taos, stands still, allowing himself to be shot.

There is no snake hunt. And as far as I could learn there is no ritual in connection with snakes, apart from *avanyo*, the magic Water Serpent, and the Big Snake curing society reported at Tesuque. In the folk-tales there is reference to Blue Snake or Yellow Snake, and in a San Juan tale the snakes are said "to come from the Corn girls."

^{262d} In a San Juan tale the deer say to the wasteful hunter, "Do not throw me away" (i.e., to the dogs and foxes), and in another tale although the hunter is generous, "leaving out nobody, giving meat to everybody," because he is wasteful of meat, killing too many deer, and thinking "the deer costs nothing," i.e., is not precious, the men with magic decide to kill the hunter. This point of view was expressed at Isleta, and probably prevails in other towns.

Santa Clara

At Santa Clara the office of *pikæ sen^{do}* is unfamiliar. Formerly, when there were deer drives ("two wings would spread out and then close in, and the men from behind would come up slowly"), the Outside chief would come on ahead of the successful hunters to announce their return to the "oldest man or to the chief (*tunjo*)," who would build a fire in the kiva. They got a pipe and all the hunters smoked. They had to relate all that had happened from the time they left until the time they got back. Then all the people were told to bring bowls to get meat. Of the quarry the killer got the hide and horns and the backbone.

Some years ago, the women used to meet the men coming in from a rabbit hunt and receive the rabbits; but even at that, women did not go on the hunt; that was long, long ago. There is no rabbit hunting for the hierarchy; but four days before a kachina dance a rabbit hunt is held. At the dance the kachina carry the rabbits.

A bear killer would rub black soot on his face. In the folk-tale of the Witch Wife when a bear or lion comes down, they say, "We will make rain or snow, to see the tracks," and they go and tell the hunter.

San Ildefonso

At San Ildefonso the term *samaíyo* was used instead of *pikæ sen^{do}*. The last *samaíyo*^{262e} died, a very old man, when my middle-aged informant was adolescent. Later the same highly unreliable informant indicated the house of the *samaíyo* and referred to the *samaíyo* as functioning at present, going out early, before the others, on rabbit hunts, to build the fire and "do his *pocahanti*," the English-Mexican for magic (Tewa, *pinang*). The *samaíyo* also brings in the Buffalo dancers and the Deer dancers.

^{262e} A Santa Clara man suggested the etymology *sa*, tobacco; Spanish, *mayor*, chief; and my Nambé observer translated *sa-mayo* as tobacco big.

Tesuque

There is a *samayo* at Tesuque, perhaps two. Two men in the Buffalo dance were both referred to as *samayo*, the leader of the Buffalo group proper, and the man next to him who was ceremonially arrayed as a hunter. The *samayo* had charge of the Buffalo heads, conducting the esoteric ritual.^{262f}

Nambé

No *samayo* or *pikæ sen^do* is remembered at Nambé; but the office is referred to.

Fire old woman is fed by the hunter's family, by throwing crumbs on the fire. They ask her to send a deer.

Benina of Nambé relates that if a boy returns from the hunt without game they call him *sumakore*.^{262g} On the second day following the hunt they hold a kiva dance in which the boy has to dance with bow and arrow up and down towards a rabbit, a real rabbit, which he finally has to shoot. The term *sumakore* is also applied to a boy who misses in the game of *popue* (pumpkin stalk), the game of shooting an arrow into a ball made of pumpkin stalk. "You are made *sumakore*!" they call out to the boy.

WAR SOCIETY IN TRADITION, AND WAR

Santa Clara

The war societies, constituted as elsewhere of scalp takers (*tse'oke*), are everywhere extinct, except in part at Santa Clara. Here there are no longer any men members, but there are women who form a group still called *tse'oke*, their chief referred to as *tse'oke kwiyo*. There are "four" women *tse'oke* who have been recruited through sickness. A sick child may be "given"

^{262f} See pp. 201-204.

^{262g} *Sumaikoli* is a western ceremonial term (Laguna, Zuñi, First Mesa Tewa) referring to a curing society. On First Mesa the organization is distinctively Tewan; but except for the above usage I have not this term, or anything suggestive of the organization, among the Eastern Tewa. See Parsons 18; 11.

to them, to name. The *tse'oke* are in charge of the dance called *puwære*, which is performed as an initiation dance.²⁶³

Formerly the scalps (*po'kowa*, *po'*, hair), which in the dance had been carried on poles, were kept in jars, with old women to take care of them.

The Navaho were the hereditary enemies. "The Navaho had lots of *pinang*. They could make wind or rain," and so obliterate their tracks, after they raided the Pueblos.²⁶⁴

San Juan

Those formerly in charge of the scalps are referred to as *po'se'e* or *tse'oké* (*tse'*, face,^{265?} *ké*, bear).²⁶⁶ The scalps, *hæmi bi po'k'owa* (warrior his scalp) were kept in an upper room in a large covered jar, by *tse'oké sen^do* who had to feed them daily, except on special occasions when the women called Blue Corn girls and *apienu* (bow red boy) fed them.

Three *tse'oké* had been known to my informant who was sixty years of age. The last *tse'oké* died about sixteen years ago. Somebody else said he died seven or eight years ago at the age of sixty-seven.

At present the scalps are kept by the *pikæ* in his own house.

The warriors had different kinds of medicine to rub on before fighting. The Mexicans who went with them against the Navaho would ask San Juan men for medicine.

²⁶³ According to Benina of Nambé there is no real *puwære* of the *tse'oke* anywhere any more, not even in Santa Clara. In connection with the *puwære* a girl stayed "where no man could touch her. If any man touched her, she had to die." It was the lapse of this ritual taboo, perhaps, more than anything else, that made Benina say there was no longer any real *puwære*.

²⁶⁴ See Parsons 4:166.

²⁶⁵ Or spruce, suggested a Santa Clara woman. Cf. Harrington, 2, 211, where face (*tse*), metate (*o*), hard (*ke*), is the etymology suggested. *Ke* (*keh*) means hard or bear, according to pitch.

²⁶⁶ At Taos Red Bear was referred to as a war personage, and at Jemez bear hair stained red is used on certain masks. There seems to be no warrior known as *kepi*, Bear red, as my informant and I translated, at San Juan. My informant showed a very marked curiosity about Red Bear of Taos.

There were war omens or signs. A rabbit on one side "talking," a bird called *puyé*²⁶⁷ on the other side, meant that Navaho were on both sides, all around. "That is what it meant when they (rabbit and bird) began to talk." The old warriors knew about this. Again when *posew'a*²⁶⁸, Coyote, called once at night it meant that the Navaho were on top of them.

From a folk-tale one may infer that there were war songs, sung on going forth and on the return. Against the return a fire was built in the kiva and all the men were summoned and the warriors had to tell their story, up to the very moment of the telling of it. The folk-tale suggests that until the war dance (*pu'ware*) in four days, the warriors had to stay in retreat.

Navaho, Apache, and Ute were the hereditary foes. Captives were made. Then the time came when the people said, "We better not do that any more," and "the governor gave a chance to every one (every slave captive) to go to his own home."

San Ildefonso

The last of the *tseqke* was seen by a middle-aged informant when he was a boy. There used to be a twelve nights ceremonial, or scalp dance (*pok'owa share*), a circle dance about the scalp or pole.

Nambé

Scalps are called *po'se'e*, which is a term for light rains or mists.²⁶⁹ "Where they bury Navaho," i.e., where the scalps are kept (in the house of the Winter chief), when it is going to rain lightly, the scalps cry.²⁷⁰ "We say, 'We are going to have a little rain, *pose'e'* are crying.' "

²⁶⁷ A little brown bird. Puyé of the cliff dwellings is so named because the place is frequented by the birds. See p. 62.

²⁶⁸ See pp. 275-276.

²⁶⁹ At Zuñi and presumably in all the pueblos the Scalps are rain senders.

²⁷⁰ At Isleta also the Scalps will cry and talk. (See Parsons 19).

WOMAN'S SOCIETY

(*Apienu*, bow red boy; Blue Corn Girls)²⁷¹

It was only late in my enquiries that I heard of this *pa-t'owa*, the most important of all, according to our Nambé observer, and the group about which people are the most secretive.²⁷¹ This membership is of women only. There should be six members, but today in San Juan there are only two.²⁷²

The *apienu* are said to have their own altar.

Whenever there is a vacancy in the chieftaincy of any society, this society together with the *pikæ*²⁷³ have to fill it, which means, that they decide whether the right-hand man or the left-hand man or even some person outside of the membership is to take the office.

With the *apienu* are associated women called Blue Corn Girls.²⁷⁴ Formerly there were two, two *apienu*, two Blue Corn Girls. Today there are one *apienu*, one Blue Corn Girl. These were appointed by the *tseoke seno*. The office of Blue Corn Girl may also be filled by trapping, as is the office of Hunt chief. Any woman stepping into the hunt circle in the rabbit drive may be "trapped." On being installed there was a preliminary retreat and fast, twelve days for the *apienu*, eight days for the Blue Corn Girl. The fast from food is complete; only water is allowed. No fire is allowed, and so the initiation was held in summer. In case the initiate has to pass through a room with fire, they hold up a blanket, "they hide the fire from her." The scalps are hung around the chamber of retreat, "to watch and take care of her," the initiate. The chamber is in the house of the *pikæ*. The *apienu* look after the initiate and

²⁷¹ Bandelier refers to a woman among the Tewa hierarchy. I could never learn anything of her until these *apienu* were discovered.

²⁷² Only one, according to another. See below.

²⁷³ Compare the association between the women's society of Cochiti and the Hunt society. (Goldfrank, 1, 45.)

²⁷⁴ For the relation in folk-tale between the Blue Corn girls and the War spirit, Morning Star, see p. 266; also Parsons, 4, 59-61.

the war captain is on guard in a room adjacent. At the close of the retreat at midnight, the war captain conducts the initiate to the kiva where she is given her "mother," for the *apienu* a bow and arrow, painted red, the bow about eighteen inches long, for the Blue Corn Girl, an ear of blue corn, fully kernelled, dressed with feathers and beads.

Later I learn that the *apienu iya* or Mother is Tsekwææ (Spruce magpie) or Inacita Awino, aged fifty. As an infant she was given to the *apienu* by her parents who were blind. She became the right-hand woman to her predecessor as *apienu iya* or *kwiyo*, Pokwitsauwe (Lake zigzag) or Pihemia Talachi. Now, right-hand woman to Inacita is her own daughter, Ohuwapokwin (Kachina lake) or Francisquita Awino. And now I am told, on asking for the name of the Blue Corn Girl, that there is no office of Blue Corn Girl, that is merely a term of reference to the *apienu*, probably to the assistants of the Mother. In 1928 a new *apienu* will be finished and become left-hand woman—Hupobi (Corn flower) or Reyes Archuleita, aged sixty. In May, 1927, she was "given water." Sometime before within the year while drying corn she fell off the roof and hurt her arm. She thought she would give herself to *apienu iya*. Later she was kicked by a horse and after that bitten by a pig. That was too much; she sent her husband, Ohuwaping (Kachina mountain) or Martinez Montoya, with the Outside chief to *apienu iya* and the same day the *apienu* and the *pikæ* came to her house and gave her water. Reyes Archuleita is the niece of the deceased *apienu* chief, her sister's daughter.

Santa Clara, San Ildefonso

The term *apienu* is said to be found only at San Juan. Possibly the homologue of the society at Santa Clara is the *tse'oke*. And we may query whether the Red bow youth is related conceptually with the Red Cloud bow-carrying kachina

of Santa Clara,²⁷⁵ who was described to Harrington as the father of the war gods.²⁷⁶

From a reference in a San Ildefonso tale to Blue Corn woman, which at the time I heard it,²⁷⁷ was entirely obscure to me, I infer that the office of Blue Corn Woman probably exists at San Ildefonso. It is the tale in which the troublesome little war spirits are asking their grandmother to make them more arrows to go rabbit-hunting. "You don't need any more," she answers, "you are too little. *Blue Corn Woman might get mad at your wanting more.*"

Nambé and Tesuque

The woman's society chief is called *naiw'akwiyo*, Sandstorm wall woman (also *pykakwiyo*, roots [of town] woman); her assistants were called *kotsaianyo*, Blue Corn Girls. The positions are not filled today at Nambé. At Tesuque, Guhpi (Red stone) or Cesaria Garcia is Sandstorm wall woman, an old woman; her right-hand or Blue Corn Girl is Okuoyere (Downy eagle feather hoar frost) or Maria Pina, daughter of Juan Jesus Pina, and her left-hand, Ohuwapetsawe (Clouds prayer-feather blue) or Juanita Pina, sister of Maria. Maria succeeded to the place of her maternal grandmother. (See pl. 15.)

The woman's society does the housework during an installation ceremony for a Town chief.

HIERARCHIC ORGANIZATION AND ORIGIN MYTH

The ceremonialists are referred to collectively or generically²⁷⁸ as *pat'owa*, fish people; but, like Harrington, I was unable to learn the significance of the term, if there is any.²⁷⁹ Of

²⁷⁵ See pp. 159-160, 268. And compare the Thunder-cloud (*shiwanna*) women of the Keres. (Goldfrank, 1, 45).

²⁷⁶ Harrington, 2, 47.

²⁷⁷ Parsons, 4, 97.

²⁷⁸ For example people might say, *ko'e pat'owa dingk'a'a'na*, last night the *pat'owa* were singing, having no particular group in mind.

²⁷⁹ In the San Juan Emergence or Origin myth as in the Zuñi Origin myth, in crossing the river, some fall in and are turned to fish; but between these metamor-

the chief ceremonialists the council, *t'ækiripi* or *t'ækisenda-diqwo* (*t'æki*, all, *senda*, old ones, *diqwo*, stay in) is composed. At San Juan there are about fourteen members—the three Winter Men, the three Summer Men, *pu'fona sendo* and his two assistants, *kossa sendo* and his two assistants, *kwirano sendo*, and *pikæ sen^{do}*.²⁸⁰ At Santa Clara the chiefs are the Winter chief, the Summer chief, the chiefs of the two *kossa* groups, and *papufona sen^{do}*. Those were said not to meet together, but only with their own respective groups,—another result, perhaps, of the political disagreement.

In a San Ildefonso folk-tale the “head men” meeting together are referred to as *tarae*, the fathers.

The hierarchy appoint the secular officers, the Winter Man and the Summer Man installing them (S. J.).

The origin myth or myth of the Emergence as told at San Juan is largely concerned, like the Jemez Emergence myth, with the origins of the ceremonial groups. The myth throws so much light upon the beliefs and feelings entertained towards these groups that it deserves to be given here in its entirety. I will give two variants, the first told by one of the Winter Men of San Juan,²⁸¹ the second told by a San Juan man who had served as war captain and so felt well informed about ceremonial traditions.

The Emergence

1.

There was a big lake, *Ohange pokwinge*, Sand lake. There were lots of people in there. They stayed underneath the water. Then they were talking about it, how to go up from the water, how to get ready to go up.

phosed and the ceremonial organizations there appeared to be no connection until I opened the enquiry with my Benina of Nambé. “Why *pat'owa*?” “Because after they came up, the bridge across the river broke, and some fell in and became fish.” There is no Tewa taboo on eating fish. Men drag the river with big sacks, women joining in these fishing parties.

²⁸⁰ As there are two curing societies at San Juan, as I was to learn later, I take it that three more *pu'fona* should be included, possibly also the Red Bow Youth woman and the Blue Corn Girl woman.

²⁸¹ Parsons, 4, 6.

And so our Mother was born, *Kutsəbukwi payokaga*,²⁸² Corn White, our Summer Mother. In four days after our Mother was born, our Ice Mother, *Kutsəbukwi oyikaga*, was born. Where she was born there was a little green grass (*tatsauwe behge*,²⁸³ *ta*, grass, *tsauwe*, green-blue). And so they said, those people, "This is our Mother, Summer one," said the people. When our Corn White Mother, Ice Mother, was born there was just the same round place. So the people said, "This is our Mother, Winter Mother."

Then those people said they would get a man. They said, "You are woman-man." Then the man said, "I am not woman-man." Then they asked him again if he would not be woman-man. And he repeated he was not woman-man. They asked him three times. "You ought to be woman-man." He said he was not. The fourth time they spoke, they said, "You are to be woman-man." So he said, "All right. Yes, I am woman-man for all the people who are in here." At that time while they were under the water they did not know where was north, west, south, east, zenith, nadir. So they told this man he was to go up. They did not know where north was. Then they let him go up. Then he went up northwards. "Wonder if you are going to have good fortune," they said. "If you find anything good, you must come and let us know it." Then he came back all ragged and brown. They said, "What did you see where you were?" He said he did not see anything except the ground, near the big hills. They said to him, "You must think woman-manlike. Now you must go westward." Then he came back. So again when he came they asked what he had seen. He had seen everything all dry, nothing but ground. Now he was to go southward. He went, he came back. They asked him again. In just the same words he answered. Then they said to go out eastwards. When he came back, they asked him again, and in the same words he answered. They said, "You have to be woman-man, now you are going up above." He went up. So they said to him, "You did not see anything when you went, now you belong to Kanyotsanyotse. You have to go out from here. Wonder if anybody will love you." So he went out and to a big court. And then he came to a certain place. They opened to go down. He was in the upper story with a man. And under them were different kinds of animals (*tsiwi*), mountain lion, bear, wolf, fox, different kinds of cat, dragon-flies, also bees, the big and the little ones. Then they told the man to go in. Then he saw those things, and when he saw those things, he got scared. They said, "We are your friends." He was afraid and pushed the other one. Those animals jumped up on him and scratched him all over. They were supernatural (*pinan*). Then he stood up a sound man again. Then they sat him down. They gave him arrowpoints and buckskin to

²⁸² Corn, white, *bu'u*, "large low roundish place" (Harrington, 2, 50), *kwi*, woman, *paye*, summer, *kaga* (?).

²⁸³ *Be'e*, small low roundish place; *ge*, locative (Harrington, 2, 50).

hang over the right shoulder, red feathers for his hair, moccasins, leggings and shirt of buckskin. They told him, "These are what you are to use." They put black dirt (*poshu*) all over his face. They put downy feathers all over his hair. They told him to take his bow and arrows. "Now you are ready. We love you." So he went out from there. He went back to the lake. He came near the lake and he began to dance and to sing and to call, U . . . u! They heard it, they said, "That's good! That's good!" They said, "Maybe somebody loves us." He came in and they saw him. He was Kanyotsanyotse. That was the first one (i.e., he was the original Kanyotsanyotse).

And those *na imbi kwiyo kqtsqbukwi payokaga oyikaga* (Corn mothers), they stayed in the same place where they were born. Then he (Kanyotsanyotse) said, "I need a woman." There were lots of men. He was walking around where they were sitting and he caught hold of one and stood him up and he got *kqtsqbukwi* and gave it to the man he caught. So he took the Mother and gave it to him. "You are *poqtoyo*; you have to care for all these people in the summer time. You are their Father and Mother." Then he said, "Yes."—"You are the Father and you are the Mother," they said to him. So Kanyotsanyotse said to the man, "You are the Father and you are the Mother. If any little boy or any man or woman talks about you, do not get mad with your children. You have to treat them well, even if they speak against you." Then he was looking for another Mother. He was looking and looking around when he saw another man. He caught him. He gave *na imbi kwiyo kqtsqbukwi oyikaga* to the man and said, "You are the Father and you are the Mother. If any man or woman speaks against you, do not get mad. You have to treat your children well" (as Winter chief). So those were the old ones, *pat'owa sendo*. Then they said, "Yes; now we have found a Mother and a Father," they said. "So we have to walk up from here," they said. So they stood up in the north. They said, "Here is not the place." They stood up in the west. They said, "Here is not the place." They stood up in the south. They said, "Here is not the place." They stood up in the east. They said, "Here is not the place." Then they were singing *poqka*.²⁸⁴ Then they went northwards and they came out from there.

While they were under the lake they had made two *t'owa'e*. So they said, "Those two little boys have to think woman-manlike." From the lake they went up and said, "Whatever you see you must come and let us know." So they came in and let them know. So they questioned them. They said, "Yes, we went up and we did not see any hills." Then they told them again and so they said to them, "You belong to our Father and Mother," said they to them. Then they were getting ready what they

²⁸⁴ Water runs song. It is sung to ask the mother "to give good times," in the seasonal transfer ceremonies of Winter chief and Summer chief.

would need when they went up from the Lake. They were thinking about how they could live in this world. They went out again. As they were walking they saw *wæke*. The younger one was ahead of the elder.²⁸⁵ The elder said, "Wait for me, *tiupare*." He waited, they changed places. The younger said, "Wait for me, *tiupare*." Then they came to the lake. They said, "We are *tiunpare*." So they went on. Then they told them, "You have to go out from here and go to the north, the west, the south, the east, and bring back a true account of what you see." So they went out. They stood up. Then they said to them, "Try it, *tiupare*." So he took out his arrows. Then he said, "If I shoot it this way, if the arrow does not come back, that way is the north." Then it went and did not come back. They said, "Now we know where the north is." They gave the name "north." "Now, *tiupare*, try with the arrow again." He shot and the arrow did not come back. They named it "west." "Try with the arrow again, *tiupare*. If the arrow does not come back, that is south." He shot and the arrow did not come back. That was south. He shot again and the arrow did not come back. That was east. "Shoot the arrow up and if it does not come back that will be *opamakore* (sky)²⁸⁶." He shot it, it did not come back. So he said, "Try, *tiupare*. Shoot up the arrow and if it comes down on the ground and into the ground that will belong to the nadir." He shot up the arrow. It came down and went into the ground. That was the nadir (*nqnsogenoge*).²⁸⁷ Then they went in. Then they asked them, "How did you fare?" They said, "We fared well. We know where north is, and west, south, east, above and below." So they said, "That is all right. Thank you. Now we know you have placed the steps (directions)." Then they said, "You have left out one word yet (you have omitted one thing). You have to get them all together, two by two,²⁸⁸ blue, yellow, red, white and *nokunwi* and *tsæge* (all colored) (six T'owa'e)." Those are Indians, what they need they are to mind them (guards for them). They still use them. They belong to the *akonotuyu* of Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Cochiti. So they were all two by two. They said, "Now you have to think like a woman. You have to put up the big hills now to the north." So they took a little mud and they threw it this way (indicating the directions), and there were the hills. Then they said, "When we work *pinqn*, the sky will get dark, there will be white ones, like a flower (clouds),²⁸⁹ there will be a rainbow and lightning, and the sound of rain falling, and fog."

²⁸⁵ The relative positions were shown on the fingers, by placing the index finger of the left hand ahead of the index finger of the right hand.

²⁸⁶ See Harrington, 2, 24, 42, giving *opamakowa*, world sky.

²⁸⁷ *Nqn*, earth; *soge*, to sit; *nuge*, below (Harrington, 2, 42).

²⁸⁸ Meaning that the six or rather twelve T'owa'e were manlike, and were to safeguard the people in what they needed and, through their ceremonies, got.

²⁸⁹ Or possibly sheet lightning, which is referred to at Jemez as flower-like.

They came out from that lake. They could not walk. *Poq̄loyo* kicked a ball²⁹⁰ and it could not go. So he said, "*Oyike*, now you try, *tiupare*. I wonder could you do it?" He threw it. It ran and it made a noise. Where it stopped was hoar-frost (*oyegebeye*). It made the ground hard.²⁹¹

Then they were going along walking and walking. And some got head-ache and some, stomach-ache. And they said they needed something again. "That is why we have head-ache and stomach-ache." And so they said, "Maybe those Mothers we are carrying are not good Mothers." So they went back again. Then Kanyotsanyotse said, "Whatever does she (*payokaga*) need?" He opened her stomach and she had pointed things and stones in her stomach. He took all these bad things out and put in good things.²⁹² Then they moved on again. They still had head-ache and stomach-ache. They still needed something. So they came back again. They needed *pu'fona*. They made four *pu'fona*, and went out again. The *pu'fona* gave them medicine.

They came to a big river. There was Magpie (*kwæq̄*). He put his tail across the river and on it the *t'owa'e* passed over. The two old ones, the caciques (Summer chief and Winter chief), came on the other side. Then Magpie's tail turned over in the middle of the river and the people fell down into the water. Those old Mothers (caciques) said, "You have to turn into fish. Who is not lazy will catch the fish and eat the fish." Some were left on one side, some on the other side. They were calling to one another. They threw stones and sticks at one another. Then those who stayed on the other side said, "That is what you need. You are Navaho, Ute, Apache, Kaiowa, Comanche." So when they called their names, they said, "You belong to them." They have their own languages. They could not talk to each other. So the caciques told them, "You do not need to build houses. You can build houses of deer hide and buffalo hide. When you have babies you have to use deer meat. That is what you will use," they said to them. "If you come and try and fight with our people, it will run blood." That is why when the Comanche and Kaiowa fought with our people only one or two of our men were killed. Our Father and our

²⁹⁰ Cf. the Laguna account of how they come up from the Under world playing kick-stick (Boas, Tale 1).

²⁹¹ This seems to be a version of the general Pueblo theory that at the time of the Emergence the earth was soft and not viable. Since writing the foregoing a Tesuque informant states that, "when the people were coming the earth was soft. They left prints in the stones. They were coming slowly. Then *oyike* with his kick-stick (*w'ebi*) made the earth hard."

²⁹² Presumably seeds. Elsewhere corn ear fetiches are hollowed and seed filled. In a Santa Clara tale where Arrow-point Wind boy is subjected to similar treatment the good things are "red stone" and turquoise; the bad things which are removed are cactus spines.

Mother said, "You are my own fighting people. Our houses are adobe houses." Thus they said to them, "Sometimes you will come to our places, when you need meal and corn."²⁹³ So they went out walking to the north, west, south, east. "There you are going to be with all your children."

Those *akqgee*²⁹⁴ were walking along, they were very sorrowful. "We need something," they said, so they went back again, those older ones, into the Lake. Then they brought those *kossa*. They were making fun, those *kossa*. And the people began to laugh and grow glad again.

The Summer Mother got the western hills and the Winter Mother got the eastern hills. So the Winter Mother comes up in the east and the Summer Mother in the west with their *oxuwah*. Those people, their children, were coming along the hills. The Winter Man was coming with his children on the hills. The last ones were coming on, back on the hills. "When they were going to have *oxuwahi*,²⁹⁵ Posew'a²⁹⁶ would call from one side to the other side. So they came together in *tekeowinge*.²⁹⁷ That is the way it happened, how they came up from that lake. *Hu'*!

2.²⁹⁸

This happened long ago when they came out from the Lake, everything was in its place just as it was going to be.²⁹⁹ Each person had his right name. *Poqtuya* and *oyike* came first (They had no partners with them; others of the *patowa* had their partners with them.) *Kutsaianyo*, White Corn girl, was lost on the way out. They were asking each other where she was. That is why we have to die³⁰⁰—because she was lost³⁰¹. . . . The order they came out in was *pixæ*³⁰² (*samaiyo*), *pufona*, *kwirana*, *tseoke*, *api enu* (bow red boy), Corn girls. The Winter Man was going on the west side; the Summer Man on the east side. The Winter people were going on the mountains, killing deer; the Summer people were going on the road where there were lots of watermelons, musk melons, green corn, and green things. Many of the people were getting sick on the way. So

²⁹³ Cf. Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 97.

²⁹⁴ Another term for *t'owa'e* or *akonotoyo*, Outside chief. A "little yard dog" is called *akqge*. See, too, p. 275.

²⁹⁵ Cloud people, moving, i.e., kachina dance.

²⁹⁶ The Tewa folk-tale name for Coyote.

²⁹⁷ The pueblo from which they subsequently scattered.

²⁹⁸ Begun by an old lady of Nambé, concluded by a San Juan man.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Parsons, 4, 136.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Cushing, 167.

³⁰¹ Here the old lady grew vague and said that her son-in-law could tell it as well as she. She was apprehensive lest I learn about the *okuwah*, etc. from her tale. So she left us.

³⁰² Afterwards identified with *kanyotsanyotse* who went out ahead, making birds and animals and crops. Whatever he thought about he could make.

the head men stopped and talked together and said, "We must be missing something, that our children are sick." So they stopped. Many of the people had died. They said, "We had better go back to our lake." So they went back, the Summer Man with his people and the Winter Man with his people. When they got back, they had a big meeting. They asked the *pix̣* what was missing. *Pix̣* asked the *towa é* to find out about it. and those *towa é* found out that the *kossa* had not gone along. Then *pix̣* got two *fininiany*,³⁰³ they ground them and made meal and out of the dough made *tapayachiamu*,³⁰⁴ and then came the *kossa*. While *pix̣* was doing his *pinq*, the *kossa* were getting big. He got white paint and made them striped and put corn husk points (*sohua*, mist) on their head. He said to them, "The way you have to do is to make fun, so that the people will be happy." They put turtle shells under their knee and strips around their arms, and they went out with their rattles. The sick people came out to see them and began to laugh and get well. Summer Man and Winter Man said, "Now we have all we need. Now we can proceed." So they were going, each with his own people. Summer Man on his side with one *kossa* and Winter Man on his side with the other *kossa*. The *kossa* made fun as they went, and the people moved on fast. They came to where there was a big river, running east and west. There they stopped. Summer Man and Winter Man said, "We do not know how to pass our people over the river." Winter Man said to Summer Man, "You are the chief man, you should know how, yet you are asking what to do. Why don't you get clematis vine (*ap̣*)³⁰⁵ and put it across for a bridge?" Summer Man said to Winter Man, "You, too, are asking what to do. Why don't you put an ice bridge across?" The *kossa* were making fun and while watching them some of the Summer people fell off the *ap̣* and dropped into the water and became fish and some of the Winter people fell off the narrow ice bridge and also became fish. Then the others got across. Then they came to Taos pueblo (*tawi owinge*) and they left some people there with their *patowa*. They told them their *patowa* were to stay on *mawoloping* and when they made *patowa* to take a year for it.³⁰⁶ They went on and stopped at Picuri. Some said, "Here we are going to be at this pueblo and our *patowa* will be at *tuping*" (their chief mountain).³⁰⁷ They asked for their people to be strong to race and to kill deer. Then they said, "We have to go down the canyon," and they stopped at Oke (San Juan). They asked for help to grow crops, corn, wheat, melons. [Oke is the head of the pueblos. Here we have to have Summer Man and Winter Man and

³⁰³ Sweet Corn girls these are usually described as. *P(f)inini* means dwarf.

³⁰⁴ "Gods of the *kossa*."

³⁰⁵ Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marecco, 63. Any vine; but from details given by narrator clematis was the vine in mind.

³⁰⁶ Referring to the exceptionally long period of initiation at Taos.

³⁰⁷ Basket mountain, Harrington, 2, 339.

all the *patowa*, so the other pueblos can see from Oke how they themselves should be. When anybody is sick, they have their *patowa* there—*payoka*, *oyika*, *pufona*, *kossa*. The *pufona* are sent out to clean for the pueblo. After them the *kossa* are sent out with their medicine water to sprinkle in the directions so the pueblo will grow, and there will be lots of children (lots of people there now) and to ask (pray to) *opaochuse*, world green man.] The others said, "Now we must go on." When they stood at *busow'epokwinge*,³⁰⁸ and saw the place, they said it would be *kapohuochute e* (Santa Clara). They stayed there, they made *pufona* there, and Summer Man and Winter Man and *kossa*. They had so much *pinan*, houses were made ready for them.³⁰⁹ If they wanted their Cloud men to come, they were to choose a place outside for them—*ku'puyubu*³¹⁰ (stone, ? noise of stones)—for them to come to, and to place their *towae* on the tops of the hills to watch. Then the others kept on moving. They went on top of *tuyo*.³¹¹ From there they said, "That is the place we are to go to"—*pow'ore*, water, gap in ditch³¹²—*pow'oge*.³¹³ (San Ildefonso) They moved on to *wəngwiire* (pine come there) and looked and said, "That is the place we are to be *tets'uge owinge* (building high)³¹⁴" (Tesuque). They stopped there with all their *patowa*. They asked the *pufona* to clean the place, the *kossa* to bless it with their *pinan*, they built their houses. They raised all kinds of crops. A few of them started on. They said, "There are only a few of us, we must divide into two. We have still to make two pueblos." They stood on a little hill, *tehhe'* (cottonwood tree, bud). "This is going to be *te'he'owinge*."³¹⁵ Half lived there and half moved on. At *te'he'owinge* (*pow'aki*) they had all kinds of *patowa*. They asked for rain and all kinds of crops. But this pueblo did not ask for the people to increase. That is why this pueblo came to an end. The others started to the east and went on top of a hill, *yohekewa* (yucca, ?, top),³¹⁶ and saw the place where Nambé is now. But they did not like it and went to *nambéhuochute'owinge* north-

³⁰⁸ See Harrington, 2, 251. *Busogepokwi*, big corner lake; the lake used by the *kossa* of Santa Clara and San Ildefonso for body pigment, etc.

³⁰⁹ I.e., appeared, without being built. Compare the general Pueblo tradition that after the Emergence people did not have to work for their living—a reminiscence, I surmise, of the Garden of Eden story.

³¹⁰ Below the mesa, half a mile from the pueblo, is the place where the *oxuwah* dance.

³¹¹ "Black Mesa." Harrington, 2, 293.

³¹² See Harrington, 2, 304.

³¹³ *Po'wo'ge* as given by a Santa Clara man. Other pueblo names given by him were Temagi (Cochiti), Tehwige (San Domingo), Nąkwą'rige (San Felipe), Okuwaré (Sia), Sharegé (Santa Ana), Wąnge (Jemez), Kossó (Hopi).

³¹⁴ As mistaken etymology, see Harrington, 2, 387.

³¹⁵ See Harrington, 2, 336; Parsons, 4, 15 n. 7.

³¹⁶ Cf. Harrington, 2, 344.

east of present Nambé.³¹⁷ They left all their *patowa* there. The *pufona* went out to cure, the *kossa* to bless. They left that first pueblo to come to where we are now because people were dying there. (Maybe they did not ask for people. But we ask for them every day.) Then they sent word not to worry—our Poseyemu is always happy. When anybody dies, we should be sad only four days; for *patowa*, twelve days with no noise in the whole pueblo, no dancing

KACHINA CULT

Extraordinary secrecy is preserved in regard to the kachina cult in all the Tewa towns. Keresan townspeople are fairly secretive on the subject, but they are easily outdone by the Tewa who will persistently deny the very existence of the cult. Throughout Pueblo society there has been the practice of concealment of the masked dances from Mexicans—even at Zuñi where whites are allowed to see the kachina, Mexicans are not. The Tewa have closer Mexican neighbors than the other peoples and it is to this fact that I attribute their greater secretiveness. Formerly in all the towns no doubt, as formerly at Nambé,³¹⁸ mask dances were held outdoors. Today, except at times at Santa Clara and at Tesuque, they are held indoors. As far as I know, no description of a mask dance among the Tewa has ever been made. From fragmentary accounts from a few townspeople I infer that they do not differ from Keresan mask dances, except perhaps in the number of dancers and of distinctive masks—there are fewer group dancers and fewer distinctive impersonations.

Prayer-stick ritual is important elsewhere in the kachina cult. In general prayer-sticks in distinction to prayer-feathers are not used, or used but little, by the Tewa. That prayer-feathers are offered in their kachina cult I have no doubt. As to prayer-sticks, I am in doubt.

Other familiar features of the cult are observed: initiation ritual, retreat and the practice of continence before dancing,

³¹⁷ Cf. Harrington, 2, 381.

³¹⁸ See p. 164. Also pp. 149, 277.

dancing by the kachina as a conclusion to ceremonial retreats, close association with the clowns who both valet and scout for the kachina, association also with the curing societies, i.e., particular masks belong to the societies.

San Juan

Boys are initiated after the age of fifteen, and all have to be initiated. "If they are not made people, they are Mexicans and they could not see the *oxuwah* come," i.e., be present at mask dances. Girls are not initiated; but they are supposed not to see the *oxuwah* until they are married. The prohibition against attending the dances for girls or boys may not be very strict, for it is said that at the dances the married women will stand in front of the young people, to keep them from seeing the *oxuwah*. The older women, I have reason to know, do know the names of the kachina, but there is some tradition of keeping the women in ignorance. "Men do not tell women the names of the *oxuwah*." The identity of the impersonators may actually be hidden from the women, at least as well as can be. A woman of Nambé referred to recognizing her husband's body as he was impersonating White Oxuwah.

The boys' initiation is held in October, but not every year. (Probably when there are enough boys to warrant holding the ceremony.) The initiates remain four days in the house of the Winter Man or Summer Man. Presumably the retreat is by moiety. In this retreat, which is referred to as *pinangkwo*, they eat food without salt.

At the initiation ceremony, *tseh oxuwah*, Spruce kachina, whips the initiates.³¹⁹ My earlier San Juan informants had insisted that there was no initiation with whipping at San Juan. "Maybe they whip at Tesuque," was all Rosita would admit.

In fact at San Juan I remained long in uncertainty in regard to the kachina cult. Familiarity about the mask cult appears

³¹⁹ See p. 154.

very marked in the folk-tales, but it was asserted that there was no mask dancing today; masks there were, but they were not used in dancing. One middle-aged woman said, "When we were at school they say we had *oxuwah*. We don't have them now, we never see them." This woman referred once to *tsiguwenu oxuwah*, Lightning kachina, but she asserted that she knew of him only by name, she had heard her mother speak of him, her mother had seen him. There are no kachina "dolls" at San Juan, nor kachina presents of bows and arrows to the little boys.

A well-informed sacerdotalist stated most positively that the masks which are kept by Winter chief and Summer chief³²⁰ are not worn today, in the spring rain dance or at any time. He referred to the boys who used to wear the masks as *oxuw'api-nangkwa*.³²¹ They wore the masks so that people would not recognize them. The boys were told that the masks were from ancient times and were used because "we want to know how they (*oxuw'a*) were." The masks themselves, which according to a folk-tale are kept in bowls, are called *oxuw'a*. A San Juan folk-tale refers to mask dancing at San Ildefonso, long ago when the Mexicans first came. At that time on the occasion of Catholic baptism they had "a great big *oxuwahhe*" (mask dance). "At that time there were few Mexicans, so the dance was in the day time," i.e., outdoors. "They kept them (the impersonators) in, four days. They gave them only green corn and bread without salt, and no meat." The *oxuwah* were led by their chief, and directed by the *kossa*. They would ask the new boys, "Are you going to believe what we are going to tell you?"—"Yes," said the boys. *Then they had to whip them*. As for the boys who did not believe, "they did nothing for them."

In spite of these folk-tale particulars I had about concluded that there was no mask dancing at San Juan when on December

³²⁰ See p. 147 for a reference to their *oxuwah*. In a San Juan folk-tale the Town chiefs send for the *oxuwah*. (Parsons 4:91.)

³²¹ See above.

10 (1924) I heard of a mask dance being held that very night—a Hopi resident was extending an invitation to it to a Tewa visitor from First Mesa. Later a Santa Clara woman told me that she had never seen a mask dance at San Juan but she believed they took place. Still later, in 1926, a San Juan man informed me that the Winter Cloud people come on October 14—he fixed the seasonal Transfer ceremony on October 1—and that the Summer Cloud people come “before planting,” the Transfer ceremony being on February 12. “The Summer Man takes back his people early so winter won’t be so long.” The Summer Cloud people are asked for seeds. No Cloud people come in the summer. There is little doubt that the rain dance is being referred to in this account, the rain dance which was said to be danced at night inside Little kiva.³²² “The Summer Men are in two days, then they call some boys who are four days in the kiva before they dance *kwæshare*.”

Accounts of particular kachina follow:

1. *Yeng sendo* (“Restless” old man; *yeng* > *yi*ⁱ, always in motion). “He is always walking about on the mountains. He never stays still.” During three moons he walks about at night. Of these masks there are two, one belonging to the Summer people, one to the Winter people. . . . Around *yeng sendo*’s waist is a string of birds or rabbits which he brings to the girls. In the dance the *kossa* take out two girls and stand them in place to receive these presents.

The mask (fig. 4) is black with mouth in red, a triangle of red on the forehead, and zigzag lines from the eyes in red, yellow and blue. On top of mask, two owl feathers, from each side an eagle feather, from each ear a *kawu* feather. Collar of coyote fur; quiver on back, yucca switch in right hand, bow and arrows in left. Cotton leggings, spruce anklets. (Presumably the moon designs as well as the owl feathers are a reference to his night walking habit.) . . . *Yeng sendo* is to be identified with He’he’a (Heluta) of Cochiti, Laguna, Zuñi, and First Mesa.

³²² But see p. 99.

2. *Tseh oxuwa* (Spruce cloud man). He belongs to the Winter people. He it is who whips at the initiation of the boys. In his hands he carries yucca blade switches, but he keeps his hands behind his back to show that "he is not coming mad." If he lowered his arms he might whip the people. At the initi-



Fig. 4. *Yeng sendo*
Drawn by a townsman of San Juan.

ation one hand is on his hip, the other forward, meaning that he is going to whip. He has a loud clear call.

The mask (fig. 5) is half yellow (right side facing out), half blue; ears red; two eagle feathers, lightning sticks; black beard. Wolf skin collar; breast piece of *pohæyo*,³²³ water lion skin, with shell, *tseh'a*. Hopi dance kilt.

³²³ This is used in men's braids. It is finer than beaver fur.

3. *Oxuwa fendi tuyose* (Black chief man). (Fig. 2) He belongs to the *pufona* (one of their four masks), and whips at the *pufona* initiation.

An ear of white corn is painted on each side of the mask, and a crescent moon, the corn because "he has *pinang* like corn."



Fig. 5. *Tseh oxuwa* (Spruce cloud man).
Drawn by a townsman of San Juan.

The snout is called *shu'təngpe*, nose whistle stick. "These *oxuwah* whistle this when they come." Eagle tail feather fan.

4. This *oxuwa* also belongs to the *pufona*, accompanying Black Cloud chief. In the spring, when there is much sickness, all of the *pufona oxuwa* come to the kiva, in which all the people assemble. In connection with the Basket dance the *pufona oxuwa* may also appear; *oxuwatsaii*, *oxuwa pendi* (*fendi*) and *keh oxuwa* were cited.

Mask, yellow on top, "green" at bottom, white sides. To each side is attached an ear of white corn with feathers, "their Mothers." Beard of bear hair (formerly buffalo hair). Water lion skin breastlet. Bear paws on hands, with eagle feathers. Crosses on the arms and body represent *ogoyo wiri* (stars in a line), the three stars of Orion's belt. (Fig. 3.)

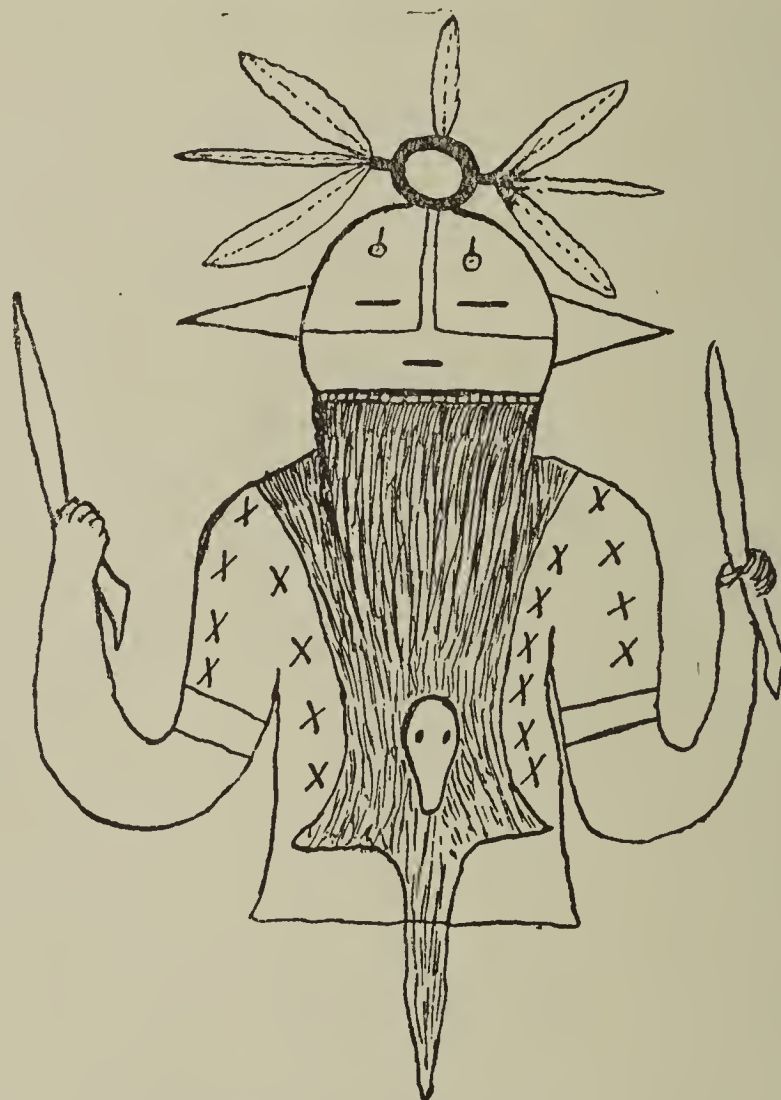


Fig. 6. Companion to Black Cloud chief. (See p.121)
Drawn by a townsman of San Juan.

5. *Popoe oxuwa* (pumpkin stalk *oxuwa*) sometimes comes to San Juan. He brings rabbits to the children. Of his origin is told a story very similar to the story scraps about the kachina in the West. Once at San Juan on a rabbit or game drive one of the men got no game (*pokano*). So they had a dance, for the *oxuwa*.³²⁴ At such a dance the unsuccessful hunter has to dance

³²⁴ See p. 136.



Kossa and Kachina of San Juan
1. Kossa. 2. Summer kachina. 3. Winter kachina. 4. Corn kachina.

and shoot at an animal, rabbit or fox, which is a real animal but is called pumpkin stalk (*popoe*) rabbit or fox, referring probably to a game by that name in which the target is of pumpkin stalk. Now this time the pumpkin-stalk fox got away. The boy followed him out of the kiva. The fox led the boy to what



Fig. 7. Companion to Black Cloud chief.
Drawn by a townsman of San Juan.

looked to him like a circle of sand. The boy jumped into it. It was a pool, and the boy became the *popoe oxuwa*.

6, 7, 8. In plate 18 are represented a *kossa* "going to visit the dry (parched fields to bring rain," *Payo ohuwa*, Summer kachina, who "brings rain, going to visit the Summer chief, to bring rain," Winter *ohuwa*, who "brings lots of snow in winter, going to visit the Winter chief," and Corn *ohuwa* who "comes

when they plough (?harrow), to bless the corn." His headdress is of three ears of corn.

Santa Clara

The Town chiefs (*oyike sendo* and *payoke sendo*) regulate the time of dance performance, these "say when they want them," i.e., the four masked impersonations who dance *oxuwá share*, kachina dance. This is always danced at night, in kiva.³²⁵ For four days in advance the impersonators remain in kiva, to which women carry food and water. Four days before the dance there is a rabbit hunt. The hunters go out before daylight and return at dark. Women do not participate. "We don't see them," said a woman. These rabbits are for the kachina to bring with them to the dance, together with melons and seeds of corn, melon, squash, water melon, chili, peas and beans. The seeds are given to the women in the audience, for planting. The melons are for supper. As usual, women sprinkle meal on the kachina. After the dance *oyike sendo* and *payoke sendo* "say" [i.e., in prayer-address] that the *oxuwá* have come from under their springs in the mountain to bring gifts to the people and to see that the people mind the old men, that the women do not throw out their refuse by the door, but at a distance, etc.

Masks are cared for by the Town chiefs in their own houses, in a particular room, reserved for ceremonial. Given this fact and the dance control by the chiefs, it is probable that, as stated by informants, there is no distinctive dance organization.³²⁶

Oxuwá share, may be performed in September or November, after harvests. The dancers (*share'i*) of whom there are four, five or six, carry in melons. The masks specified are: (1) *Share'i*. (See fig. 8.) He (or they, as it seems probable that there is a group) wears a Hopi cloth kilt, with spruce branch pendants set closely. The right half of the torso is painted black, the left

³²⁵ But see p. 149 for a report from San Juan of mask dancing at Santa Clara in a canyon near town.

³²⁶ See p. 110. Dumarest, 119.

side, white; the right side of the mask is blue, the left side white. There is a collar of spruce. In the right hand there is a gourd rattle; in the left, melon and spruce. The drawing (fig. 8) was identified by a Tewa of First Mesa as *hemis* kachina.³²⁷ (2) *Okuwahpi'v*, Red Cloud man or kachina (fig. 9). He wears a



Fig. 8. Group kachina dancer of Santa Clara.
Drawn by a townswoman.

Hopi cloth kilt, and the large white Hopi dance belt, with fringes. Skunk fur heel bands,³²⁸ turtle shell rattle on left leg,

³²⁷ Possibly to be identified also with the *tseadadvuiya* of Cochiti (Goldfrank, 1, 109).

³²⁸ These are worn at Jemez and by the Keres, not at Zuñi nor by the Hopi or Tewa of First Mesa who use porcupine quill heel bands.

red yarn under knees. The right side of the mask is blue, the left side white. The lightning sticks alongside are blue, with points in white. Big teeth. On top of mask, four eagle feathers. Spruce collar. In his left hand he carries bow and arrow and melon, in right hand, a yucca (*pa*) blade whip. Red kachina "belongs to" Winter chief. Red kachina was unfamiliar, as drawn, to the Tewa visitor from First Mesa. (3) *Nat-se''mu*, also with parti-colored face, one side yellow (*wihangeritse*), one side blue (*wihangeritsawe*). Blue and yellow "light-



Fig. 9. *Okuwahpi''* Red Cloud kachina.

nings" are along the sides of the mask. He "belongs to" Summer chief.³²⁹ (4) *Tsekwætagi'' oxuwá*, Eagle tail feathers spread Cloud man. (See fig. 10.) He wears a headdress fan of eagle tail feathers with downy eagle feathers stuck to his hair. Right side of mask, blue; left side, white. The gourd snout is similarly parti-colored. The teeth are indicated. One side of torso, black, one side, white. Skunk heel bands. Melons in right hand; yucca blade whip in left. Unfamiliar to First Mesa Tewa. (5)

³²⁹ The maskless kachina dances of Isleta are classified as Winter and Summer dances.



Fig. 10. Spread eagle tail feathers Cloud man.
Drawn by a townswoman of Santa Clara.



Fig. 11. *Djeng sen^{do}*.
Drawn by a townswoman of Santa Clara.

Dikwətagi', Turkey tail feathers spread. He wears a headdress fan of turkey tail feathers. (6) *Djeng sen^{do}*. (See fig. 11.) He is the "old man to them," i.e., their chief. The mask is blue, with the lightning (*tsigowenu*) design in white and two parallel stripes across the face, in white. Two turkey feathers to the front of the head. He carries a bundle of spruce, with rabbits inside. In left hand, bow and arrow; in right, yucca blade whip. He wears a buckskin shirt, buckskin leggings, moccasins, and buckskin mantle. *Djeng sendo* was identified as *ye enu* or *mukwəte* of First Mesa.

In all the foregoing account my informant referred to the dances as if they were held indoors, within the kiva. As a matter of fact some of the kachina dances are held outdoors, in a secret place, as at Cochiti. The place is called *kupuyubu* (stone, sound of stones?) and is below the mesa, half a mile from town, inferably in one of the small canyons to the southwest.³³⁰ In the San Juan tale through which these facts were revealed³³¹ the war captains (*towa e*) are said to be placed as watchers on the hills above.

San Ildefonso

There is kiva night dancing by *oxuwá*, but I could learn few details. Dancers have to bathe in the river and stay four days in advance in kiva, presumably at dance practice. The question is up today as to whether the young men have to dance *oxuwá*. "There was a big fight over it, last week," said one informant.

Kachina dances are said to be held after the solstice ceremonial retreats, also mentioned was an *oxuwah share* in September, in Turquoise kiva, and on Thursday and Friday nights of Holy week in the Turquoise round kiva at which appeared Seeds kachina (*koyi ohuwah*) who scatters seeds from a leather

³³⁰ For one of these Harrington got the name *Katsinahe'e* (Harrington, 2, 246). *He'e* he translates little arroyo; but compare the term *oxuwahhe* (Parsons, 4, 92), "kachina move" for a Kachina dance.

³³¹ See p. 149.

bag, and Rain-bird kachina (*kwapiye ohuwah*) representing a bird who comes only with continuous rains.³³²

On using the San Juan term *kwashare*, rain dance, I was told that at San Ildefonso, too, it belongs to the Summer people. "We Winter people," said my Winter informant, "do not go into their kiva." It was in this connection that he referred to the conflict in town as to whether the boys should dance *oxuwah share*, *kwashare* being the same, inferably, as *oxuwah share*. And in the San Ildefonso folk-tales it is in truth Summer chief who directs the *oxuwah*.

"We have to do what Summer chief tells us," says Blue *oxuwah*, and Summer chief throws meat and wafer bread to the *oxuwah*, throwing to the east.

Tesuque

On Thursday and Friday afternoons of Holy week, 1927, there was a mask dance in the plaza, reports Benina of Nambé. The roads were closed, with guards stationed on them and on the roofs. Among the kachina were *hq ohuwa*, Corn kachina; *popobi ohuwa*, Squash flower kachina; and *pobitsey ohuwa*, Yellow flower kachina, who carries on his head a basket of flowers, particularly yellow flowers, which he distributes to the lookers-on to chew and spit over their body, rendering themselves strong and healthy. Two *kossa* were out.

Nambé

There are regularly two masked dances during the year, that of the Winter kachina, *kwari* or *tenu ohuwa*, in December after the seasonal transfer ceremony, and that of the Summer kachina, *kaye* or *payo ohuwa*. The Winter kachina of whom there are three, come bringing deer. The Summer kachina, of whom there are about eight, bring melons, corn, etc.

The impersonators remain four nights in retreat in the house of the Winter chief, where they practice dancing after mid-

³³² A big, drab bird with long legs, possibly the sandhill crane.

night. . . . The Outside chief appoints some women to grind corn, half of them grinding blue corn, half of them white corn, with which to invite to the dance, in winter the Winter Man from Tesuque, in summer, the Santa Clara *kossa*.

The dancing is within the kiva, which, we recall, belongs to both Summer and Winter peoples. Formerly, from thirty to forty years ago, the dancing was in the plaza, with Outside chiefs on guard. Then increase in the number of Mexican neighbors necessitated dancing inside the kiva.

The line dancers are referred to as *ohuwa enu*, *ohuwa* youths, of whom there may be from three to six, and *ohuwa anyo*, *ohuwa* maids, of these, three or four. The *ohuwa enu* belongs to the youths who impersonate him after their initiation. One man was mentioned as always impersonating White *oxuwah*. Probably the *ohuwa* are orientated by color as elsewhere. The mask of the *ohuwa* youths is blue-green with a white eye slit and a red lightning design around temples and forehead. Basket visor, and on top wooden *tablita*. Spruce collar and spruce in both hands. White shirt.

Ohuwa tuyo, Kachina chief, wears a white buckskin mantle. See pl. 19. In this picture this "Cloud chief" is seen "coming to the kiva to tell all that winter is past and to get ready for spring, and that all should be good to the *oyike seⁿ do*. 'I come to see all my people,' he says, 'and I am glad to find all well.' And so he says good-bye to all and leaves for Potsæpokwinge, White lake."

Other masks are *yeng sendo*, Deer (fig. 12), *tsew'ædi ohuwa* (eagle tail *ohuwa*), *tsehpuma ohuwa* (eagle ? look, *ohuwa*) mentioned as coming in the spring time, i.e., as being a Summer *ohuwa*, *ohuwa pakq*³³³ who make the meal road for the others and who call out like the *kossa*—*he he e!*; *pænyo* (Snake) *ohuwa*, *t'um* (basket) *ohuwa taampiuwi* (spring time) *ohuwa*, *paia-cham ohuwa*, *ti' ohuwa* and *uhua ohuwa*, named from his call. *T'um*

³³³ Meaning to watch as would a mother.

or more properly *pokano* (wild game) *ohuwa* carries a large basket with feathers tied to the rim. The *kossa* take off his basket and say to the people, "Here is his basket for you to fill." The women fill the basket with white and blue meal. He leaves to return to the kiva roof and call down, "Here I am going to drop down all this *pokano* (game animals) for the women" [in return



Fig. 12. Deer kachina of Nambé.

for their meal]. *Taampiuwi ohuwa* wears a woven mask, woven of willows, with buzzard feathers on top. He brings strings of dried melon and pumpkin. *Paiacham ohuwa* who belongs to the *kossa* wears on his head a ring of eagle tail feathers referred to as "his basket" inside of which sits *paiachamu* (the stone fetich). Black circles around the eyes of the mask, *kossa*-like, and body striped black and white; deerskin mantle.

He carries rabbits to give to two girls chosen by the *kossa* (see below). Posetsire of Nambé who lives at San Juan always takes this part. He is a *kossa*. *Ti' ohuwa* is the *ohuwa* of the *ti'i* dancers. Mask blue-green, eagle tail fan at the back, with coyote skin pendant from the back of the mask; white cotton kilt, in each hand corn ears laid vertically or bound together with yucca. The mask of *uhua ohuwa* is black, shining with *poshu*; goggle eyes; two small horns; coyote fur collar; deerskin kilt; body painted black with two hand prints in white on back and two, one under the other, on chest. He carries two yucca blade switches and the children are afraid of him. He promises a deer to the two girls the *kossa* stands up one after the other, asking them what they want. "What do you want, a deer"?—"Yes," answers the girl. "Will you bring her a deer?" *kossa* asks of *uhua* who nods his head. Two of the women impersonators bring "babies" on their cradle board. These the *kossa* will hand to girls—for *etowasowe*, children people grow, and by this term the "babies" are referred to. The girl will lay the "baby" on her bed and the following morning people come in and "feed corn meal to that baby," i.e., sprinkle it with meal. Afterwards the "baby" is removed to another room. When the girl comes to marry she will have lots of children, as did my informant thanks to her kachina "baby," which she has now handed to her oldest married daughter. Here we have the kachina dolls used elsewhere also as phallic tokens or for magical increase.³³⁴

In the kiva *ohuwa* dancing, the *kossa* display their character as scouts, "telling how the *ohuwa* are coming." Taking some ashes in his hands, *kossa* strikes his left palm, held towards his face, with his right palm at right angles. Then peering under his left hand, he says,

Tiupare nāpimpiye opakunoge sow'ua tingenana' bumbo tiupare
 towards earth lies to mist full up it is hurry
 north very edge

³³⁴ See Parsons, 3, 28, n.1.

bumbo. This is repeated for each direction—*næakompiye*,
hurry

towards south, *nætɕpiye*, towards west, *nɛtampɪye*, towards east.

The announcement of the coming of the *ohuwa* is accompanied by jokes. "They are coming with 'white mule'," ³³⁵ says the *kossa*, or with so-and-so, mentioning a girl. "Oh, I do not see her," retorts another, "you are just thinking about her." Or one *kossa* will bump into another who exclaims, "Oh, you scared me! I thought I had just those two friends with me" (meaning the representations of the *kossa* on the kiva pillars).

When the *ohuwa* descend into the kiva, the men hold up blankets so the people won't see the descent. As the *ohuwa* enter, the *kossa* call out, *Hoy!*³³⁶ *hoy! hoy! bisuatoma bisuatoma*
crowd warm crowd warm
come in come in

<i>hana</i>	<i>hakeoye</i>	<i>suwæmbo</i>
no matter	dirt smells bad	even so

When the *ohuwa* come in, it always smells sweet and fresh.

The *ohuwa enu* are led in by *pokawakwi*, road bring in woman. She is their mother. She makes the road for them, the ritual meal road (*kæbowa po*) when they come into the kiva. See pl. 20X. The office of road maker is filled now by Yåtsey, Yellow willow. (House 7.) She took office through a vow made in sickness. The first time the kachina came after her vow, each whipped her on the back four times. Benina of Nambé mentioned Po'pokwin, Snow lake, as the road maker of Tesuque.

The Winter Man (Agustin Vihil) keeps the masks of the *ohuwa*, Winter and Summer.

There is said to be an *ohuwa* altar.

335 Home brew whiskey.

³³⁶ Exclamation of satisfaction on meeting a friend, or killing a rabbit, etc.

CEREMONIAL CALENDAR

San Juan

Early November ³³⁷ (Nov. 10-11, 1923)	Ceremony of seasonal transfer, <i>payoka ieme</i> , Summer chief gives the people to Winter chief.
After transfer ceremony (Dec. 10, 1924)	"Winter cloud people come" (kachina dance).
December (sporadic)	Adoption ceremony of Winter people.
Dec. 24, 1927	<i>Matachina</i> . Parade of Saint; Luminarios. (See p. 222.) Night visiting from house to house by Turtle dancers.
Dec. 25, 1927	<i>Matachina</i> . <i>Okusha(re)</i> (Turtle dance). Domiciliary night visiting by one set of Turtle dancers, and one set of Navaho dancers (<i>Wensabe share</i>), three male Navaho, two female.
Dec. 26, 1927	<i>Okusha</i> . Domiciliary night visiting by two <i>tembe share</i> (Bow or Hoop dancers) and by one <i>yuta share</i> dancer with a choir of three.
New Year (Tewa, <i>payotsambe</i> , year new; Mex., <i>mane-iri</i>)	Early in the morning little boys go from house to house, receiving presents of bread. Appointment of secular officers and installation in house of outgoing governor.
January 6, <i>Santo reis</i> (Kings' day)	Early in the morning little boys go from house to house, receiving presents of bread. At officers' houses the boys call out, <i>nabi santo rei</i> , my holy king.
	Buffalo dance (<i>k'oshare</i>). The two men, not the girl, with a choir of from four to five men, visit houses of new governor and of his two <i>tenienti</i> , of the Outside chiefs and of the fiscals, to dance outside and receive bread (<i>santo rei owe''koyonemá</i> , holy king, visit from house to house).

³³⁷ *Hq̄wq̄gepo*, "all is gathered in moon." Harrington, 2, 66. See *ibid*, 63-66 for names of months. From Nambé I got a slightly different list of terms: January, *oyipo*, ice moon; February, *oyiwq̄riipo*, ice break month; March, *kosinde-tsitsapo*, lizard navel moon; April, *hukapo*, corn leaf moon; May, *hahpipo*, leaf opening moon; June, *kahpipowipo*, leaf opening flower moon; July, *kq̄tsapo*, everything cutting moon; August, *hq̄pepo*, everything fruit moon; September, *pewepo*, coming ripe moon; October, *poyepo*, hair meat moon; November, *hq̄wengepo*, everything gather moon; December, *nupahpo*, under, fire moon.

Jan. 7	Winter solstice ceremonial.
Jan. 19, 1926	Hopi Buffalo dance (first presentation).
Jan.-Feb.	<i>T'umshare</i> , Basket dance (1924, 1927), with or without kachina the night preceding. Bear kachina exorcises outside.
Jan.-Feb.	<i>Powinshare</i> , Three times dance (1923).
February	Ditch ritually opened.
Feb.-March	<i>Ti'i share</i> . Dance by Woman's society (<i>puka-kwiyo share</i> , roots [of the pueblo] woman dance).
March 2 or 3	Ceremony of seasonal transfer, <i>oyika ieme</i> , Winter chief gives the people to Summer chief. Ceremonial shinny.
Before planting (sporadic)	Adoption ceremony of Summer people (<i>kaiye-pokuire</i> , Summer people, water pour). Retreat of two days by Summer Men, followed by "Summer Cloud people come."
At wheat planting	<i>kwqshare</i> (rain dance).
At corn planting	<i>kwqshare</i> .
After planting	Rain pilgrimage up Mt. Tsikomo.
Spring (in case of general sickness)	<i>Pufona</i> night ceremony, with the society kachina.
Easter	Buffalo dance (1923) or Deer dance (1922). <i>p'angshare</i> (Captive dance).
Spring (sporadic)	Eagle dance or ceremonial.
May, 1927	<i>Apienu</i> initiation begun, to be finished May, 1928.
June 13, San Antonio day	<i>koheye</i> .
June 24, San Juan day	Relay race or <i>frqshare</i> , French (war) dance (1926).
August	Rain retreats.
Sept., 1927	<i>Kossa</i> initiation, with conclusive outside dance.
Sept.-Nov.	Harvest dance (<i>t'embisha</i>).
October (sporadic)	Kachina initiation.
Nov. 2, All Souls (<i>peni missa</i> dead mass)	The fiscals collect baskets of corn and bread to take to church, for the priest. At home at night candles are lit.

Santa Clara

December	Sun Basket dance (<i>t'ant'umshare</i>) by Winter people; <i>pog'oshare</i> by Summer people.
December 12	Guadalupe fires (Mex., luminarios). A little bonfire of criss cross sticks is lit at twilight by the family (?) in front of their house. This is kept up for several evenings, every "four days." "To light Jesus to his Mother." (Mexican).

Dec. 25	No Christmas day dancing, everybody visits San Juan. At night two dance sets visit from house to house, Summer people dancers going to Summer people houses, Winter people dancers, to Winter people houses. Every house is visited. The dancers are given bread. Sometimes their hosts "make them dance twice." In 1922 <i>jutashare</i> was danced by the Summer people; <i>yan'deva</i> , by the Winter people.
Dec. 25, 1927	Daytime dancing. Eagle dance, "Rainbow dance."
Dec. 27, 1925	Dancing in the morning.
Dec. 28, 1925	Comanche, in the morning.
Jan. 1 (<i>payotsambé</i>)	Appointment of officers. <i>Oxuwa share</i> (kachina dance).
Jan. 6, Kings' day (<i>santo rei</i>)	Buffalo dance, by Summer people, outside houses of all the officers (including Outside chiefs). Kiva not used, but a vacant house belonging to one of the Summer people. Dancers are given bread. At night, in kiva, kachina dance.
Jan. 6, 1926	Hopi Buffalo dance (first presentation). Kachina maskless dance. Dog dance.
Jan. 13, 1926	Maskless kachina dance (? <i>t'antumshare</i>).
Feb. 4, 1926	Dancing (?)
Feb.-Mar.	Sun Basket dance. Zuñi Basket dance (<i>sonot'umshare</i>).
Easter week	No dancing. (People would not dance after "Ashes Day.") From Wednesday to Monday people work only in the morning. I surmise kachina dancing this week, as at San Ildefonso and Tesuque.
June 13, 1926, (San Antonio day)	"French war dance."
Aug. 12, Santa Clara day	<i>Tablita</i> dance by Summer people. Goat dance or <i>yandewa</i> by Winter people, or they may not dance at all. Foot race.
(1926)	Race by Summer people.
Sept.-Nov.	<i>share'i</i> , kachina mask dance, after harvests.
Nov. 2, All Souls ³³⁸ (<i>santu dꞑ'kibita'</i>)	Crops of all kinds, squash, melon, peas, onions, wheat, corn, are taken to the church for the priest, "his pay." "He makes a mass for everything to grow [increase]."
November (sporadic) 1923, Nov. 1	<i>puwꞑre</i> (initiation war dance).

³³⁸ Animal images in dough are not made, as at Jemez. Nor does the making of animal clay images, a Keresan saint's day practice, seem familiar to the Tewa.

San Ildefonso

November	Seasonal transfer to Winter chief.
December	Solstice retreat by Winter chief, with conclusive mask dance.
Dec. 25, 1925	"Butterfly" dance; Comanche.
Dec. 25, 1927	<i>Matachina</i> ; Comanche.
January 1	<i>Pingötsö'</i> dance, Turquoise kiva in use.
After Christmas	Retreat by Winter chief.
Jan. 23, San Ilde- fonso day	<i>Kwi'tara</i> .
Jan. 23, 1927	<i>Frasęshare</i>
Jan. 23, 1926 ³³⁹	Buffalo-Deer, etc. dance.
January	Retreat by Fire <i>pufona</i> .
Jan.-Feb.	Retreat by <i>kossa</i> .
	Sun old man dance by <i>kossa</i> .
	Kiva night dance.
February	Basket dance (<i>t'umshare</i>), Squash kiva in use.
Feb. [5 1?]	Seasonal transfer to Summer chief.
Feb. 22-3, 1926	Ceremonial shinny.
Feb. 28, 1926	All the men carry in wood on their back in the ancient mode. The women prepare food.
March 2, 1926	Maskless kachina dance.
March 8-9, 1926	Burlesque dance by women (? <i>Tidi share</i> , shield dance, or <i>owę' share</i>).
Easter, 1927	Five kachina (one <i>Koyi</i> (seeds) <i>okuwah</i> , one <i>Kwępiye</i> (rainbird) <i>okuwah</i> ,) dance in Round kiva, at night.
June	Solstice retreat by Summer chief, with conclusive mask dance.
San Antonio day	Relay race or a dance.
June 13, 1926	Corn dance, i.e., (?) maskless kachina dance.
Aug.-Oct.	Retreat by Summer chief, and conclusive night kiva dance.
	Retreat by <i>samaiyo</i> .
	Retreat by <i>kossa</i> , <i>pote'e</i> dance.
	Retreat by Tewa <i>pufona</i> , night kiva dance.
	Retreat by Fire <i>pufona</i> , night kiva dance.
	The above series, except retreat by <i>samaiyo</i> , is repeated.
Sept. 6, ³⁴⁰ 1926	<i>Kohaiye share</i> or <i>Tablita</i> dance, with <i>kossa</i> .
During harvest	<i>tembi' share</i> , with <i>kossa</i> .
After corn harvest	<i>puwęre</i> .

³³⁹ Last danced in 1922.³⁴⁰ Saint Rosalia. Possibly this date should be September 8, which is the day of the Nativity of the Virgin..

Tesuque (fragment)

November (? before 12th)	Ceremony of seasonal transfer.
Nov. 12, 1926, Saint's day (San Diego)	Buffalo dance.
Nov. 12, 1924	<i>Koheye</i>
Nov. 12, 1923	<i>Yere'</i> dance.
December 27, 1925	Comanche dance.
December 28, 1925	"War dance."
Dec. (?) 25, 1927	<i>Matachina</i> . ³⁴¹ <i>Zuñi share</i> (dance). ³⁴²
Jan. 12, 1926	Buffalo dance. ³⁴³
In the spring	<i>t'um share</i> .
Feb.→March	After ditch cleaning, ceremonial shinny. <i>Kwiyo share</i> (woman's dance). Women wear men's clothes.
March	<i>tsiupupina</i> , shoots magic, six days ceremony.
Easter, 1927, Holy Thursday and Friday	Kachina dance in plaza: Corn kachina (<i>hq ohuwa</i>), Yellow flower kachina (<i>pobitsey ohuwa</i>), Squash flower kachina (<i>popobi ohuwa</i>), and two <i>kossa</i> who sing to a drum, an innovation.
Corpus Christi day	Procession. See Pl. 20.
June	<i>Kwita share</i> .
June, 1927	<i>Kossa</i> initiation.
Nov. 2, All Souls	Crops taken to the church. ³⁴⁴

Nambé

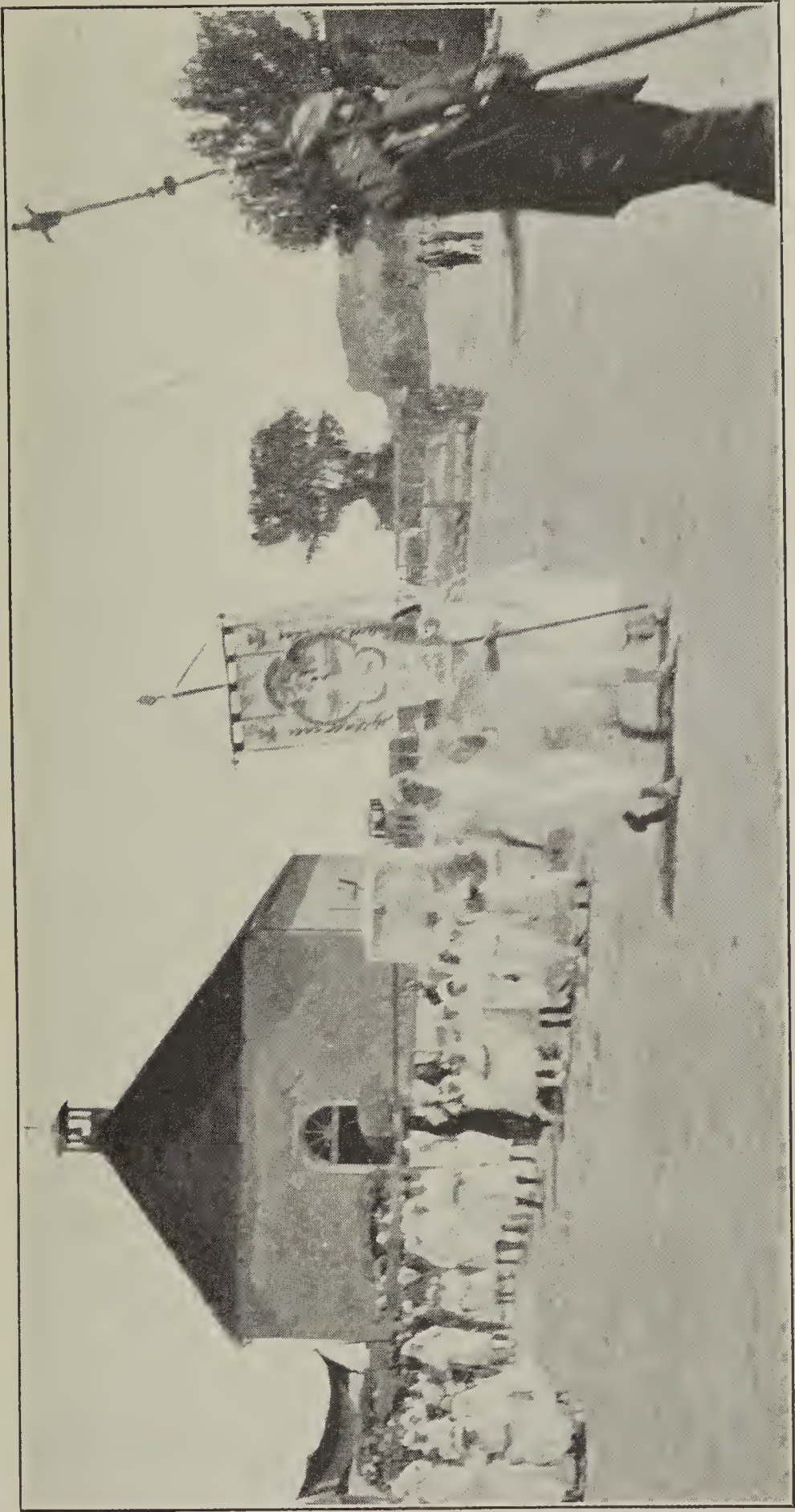
Early December	Ceremony of seasonal transfer. Winter kachina dance in kiva (Tesuque Winter chief attends).
December, 1927	Three kachina come, of whom two are <i>pø</i> (deer) <i>ohuwa</i> . They bring a deer.
Dec. 24, 1926, 1927	Snake dance, from house to house, at night.
December 25, 1927	Deer dance.
January 1	Installation of officers.
January 6	<i>Yuta share</i> , in front of the houses of the new officers, and at night in all the houses. Bread given dancers.

³⁴¹ With drum. "They don't like music in Tesuque, i.e., Mexican instruments.

³⁴² "Like Turtle dance" of San Juan.

³⁴³ Probably Horned Animal dance—Buffalo, Deer, Mt. Sheep—which is said to be danced at the Christmastide.

³⁴⁴ See pl. 14b.



Procession, Corpus Christi day, June 6. San Ildefonso.

March	Ditch cleaning. Feathers deposited in ditch by Winter chief. <i>Ti'i share</i> , and Summer kachina come (<i>taampiwi</i> , springtime, <i>ohuwa</i> , <i>paiacham ohuwa</i> , <i>ti'ohuwa</i> , <i>uhu ohuwa</i>); also <i>kossa</i> from Santa Clara. Field and pueblo "cleaning" by the Bears (doctors).
Easter (formerly)	<i>Tablita</i> dance. After the <i>tablita</i> dance went out, Dog dance was performed for a few years. Nowadays no dancing outside.
Holy Thursday	Kachina night dance, mostly <i>patowa</i> (society) <i>ohuwa</i> : <i>pachiamu ohuwa</i> , <i>pənyo</i> (snake) <i>chuwa</i> , bringing medicine for burns, <i>t'um</i> (basket) or <i>pokano</i> (wild game) <i>ohuwa</i> who belongs to the Summer people.
Good Friday	Kachina night dance: five <i>ohuwa enu</i> led in by their woman road maker.
June 1, 1927	Winter chief calls rain. Four days retreat. On last night kachina come.
June 13, 1927, San Antonio day	Yellow corn dance.
June 24	Tanta' (Sun lives), Summer solstice. At night Summer kachina come.
Aug.-Sept., 1927	Yellow corn dance, <i>ti'i share</i> , and Elk were presented at the Santa Fé fiesta and afterwards in conclusion ³⁴⁵ danced at Nambé.
September (formerly)	Expedition to Salt lake.
October 4, San Francisco (patron saint) day.	Elk dance (<i>ta share</i>) or race. Grandmother Cactus is fed.
October 4, 1925	Elk dance (with Tesuque visitors).
Nov. 2, All Souls	Food offerings to the Dead.

SEASONAL TRANSFER

The backbone of the calendar appears to be the summer-winter division, rather than as elsewhere the solar solstices. Summer is accounted from February-March to November; winter, from November to February-March.

San Juan

On November 9, 1923, *poə'toyo sendo* went at sunrise to the house of *oyike sen^do* and said, "I am going to talk with my

³⁴⁵ "We always dance for the last time, finish it, at home." This final home performance is a marked dance practice among the Hopi and elsewhere.

Right and my Left. Do you talk with your Right and your Left." After breakfast the three Summer Men went to the house of *oyike sen^{do}*, to which his two assistants had come. Here the six men smoked together, informally. *Poæ'toyo sendo* said to *oyike sen^{do}*, "Here are my children from under my armpits. I give them to you." *Payoka*³⁴⁶ *ieme* (children gives) the ritual is called. There is a night ceremonial, to which outsiders are not admitted. At it is sung *poæka* (water, runs, sings),³⁴⁷ in which the Mother is asked to give "good times."

The night of November 10-11, *oyike sen^{do}* and his Right and Left were in all night, in his house, two *akono'toyo* or guards being on watch outside. . . . All day the three Winter Men had been fasting. At midnight two women, any two Winter women from two different families, unrelated to the ceremonialists, may be appointed by *oyike sen^{do}* Four days later the Winter Men washed their heads and bathed. They observe no retreat during the four days. On March 2 or 3³⁴⁸ the Winter Man gives the people over to the Summer Man, *oyika ieme*, the same visits taking place as in November. Four days after the exchange of visits the three Summer Men fast all day and stay in one night, guarded by the Outside chiefs, staying in to sing in order to make the days longer and the nights shorter. No dance follows.

San Ildefonso

Before the seasonal transfer, it was said, Summer chief and Winter chief count their days, twelve days, by painting lines in white³⁴⁹ on their kiva roof beam. The Town chiefs of San Juan also use tallies, the Winter chief, little sticks, the Summer chief, little bones.

³⁴⁶ *Payoka* and *oyika* are archaic terms for *payoke* and *oyike*.

³⁴⁷ Sung at the time of the Emergence. See p. 144.

³⁴⁸ One San Juan informant insisted that the transfer ceremonies were in October, i.e., before All Souls' day, and on January 12; that there were retreats of four days, followed by kachina dances.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Laguna, Parsons, 13, 112, n. 3.

SOLSTICE CEREMONIES

Although of less significance in the calendar than to the south and west, the solar solstices are observed.

San Juan

The sun is watched by both *poqtoyo* and *oyike* for the summer solstice. They watch the sunrise over the Picuris mountains,³⁵⁰ they also watch the sunset. On June 22, two days before San Juan's day, the Summer Men stay in all day and all night, having washed their head indoors and having bathed in ditch or river. They do not fast.

For about twelve days after Christmas [to January 7] Winter chief and Summer chief watch the sunset, watching "two big mountains," to determine the winter solstice. The town chiefs also watch the three stars in a line referred to as *wirini*,³⁵¹ i.e., Orion's Belt, and accounted Winter stars.³⁵² "They watch them" in May (Sp. *maio*; Tewa, *kapawepo*, Leaf open moon). If these stars come out "May 4 or 6", it will not freeze, it will be a good summer. If the stars come out later, it will be a bad summer. . . . "One star comes up first, then the other one, then the other one."

The four days of the winter solstice are called *t'at'aire*, sun lives now. At this time Sun goes to report to the Mother what has been born during the year—"people, animals, plants, everything." During these four days there is no smoking

³⁵⁰ At Santa Clara the sun rises at points in the great gap (*wiyo*) of the Santa Fé range. (Harrington, 2, 47).

³⁵¹ By the Tewa of First Mesa called *kwidiing* (lines), and six stars of the constellation are meant. These, also *tiliing* (patch), the Pleiades, are watched at the winter solstice night ceremony, "to start their songs." They are watched by the Hopi also for the same purpose at their winter solstice ceremony and during the *wöwöchim* ceremony.

³⁵² In November I noted them above the eastern mesa range, which belongs to the Winter people.

In a San Juan folk-tale the captive youth is instructed to guide himself by these stars in escaping from the Cheyenne to Taos.

outdoors, and no ashes or dust are taken outdoors.³⁵³ On the fifth day the ashes and dust are taken out. The Winter chief and his assistants and the Summer chief and his assistants stay in, not the whole four days, but one day.

San Ildefonso

Poingtuyo watches the sun, in June. For four nights he keeps a fire inside the Summer kiva. He eats only bread, no meat, and this fast is observed by everybody. At the close of the retreat there is a kiva *oxuwa* dance. In December there is a like retreat by *oyike*, a like fast by everybody, and a conclusive *oxuwa* dance.

Nambé

The winter solstice or *tqnta'*, meaning "the sun in his house rests" or "is still,"³⁵⁴ was determined by both Winter Man and Summer Man by observing how the sun struck on a deer-skin which each had hung up in his ceremonial room.³⁵⁵ This would occur about December 13. Then Winter Man and Summer Man would each stay separate in his own house with his *pokwin* (lake, i.e., medicine bowl) for four days. At the close of these retreats the war captain (*towa e*) would tell the people to observe their four days, during which no fire was to be made outdoors nor ashes carried out. Nobody was to

³⁵³ Both these taboos are observed during the winter solstice ceremonial of Zuñi. . . . A Tewa informant of First Mesa states that formerly at no time was smoking allowed outdoors, only in kiva and "in their houses," lest disease might come or famine.

³⁵⁴ At another time the same informant, Benina, gave *tqsi'ta'*, sun walk day, as the term for the winter solstice.

³⁵⁵ At another time Benina stated that the observation of the sun was conducted jointly by Summer Man and Winter Man in the house of the Summer Man (house 16), in which there were three windows and a roof hole through which the sun shone. Under each window were kept a bowl of medicine water and a basket of meal. Early in the morning the Summer Man, nude, would feed the Sun. The Sun shone into the bowl (his lake). ("Men should bathe early in the morning because that is the time the Sun goes into his lake.")

touch corn, not even to throw a cloth over it. Nobody was to wash his face, keeping it covered with gum (*tqnta'kwa'*), lest Sun old man (*tq sendo*) eat his face. Nobody was to comb his hair lest Sun old man take all his hair. At the close of these general observances early in the morning the plaza was swept and refuse and ashes were thrown away, to the West. The *kossa* would take ashes, motion them in the directions and cast them away—this for Wind old man (*wq sendo*) and Wind old woman (*wq kwiyo*).

There was no observance of the summer solstice (*tqsoge*, sun sits). Now, later, Benina who is a very frank and circumstantial reporter and yet at times strangely self-contradictory, insists that *tqnta'* with its taboos about fire, corn, face washing, and hair combing is the observance actually of the summer solstice, which is dated today by the Winter chief for lack in Nambé of a Summer chief.

RAIN RETREATS

Except among the Hopi and at Isleta and at Acoma, a series of summer rain retreats is observed by ceremonial groups. Such retreats are said to be observed at San Ildefonso. The order is: *Po'qtoyo* and his group, i.e., Summer man, *kossa*, Tewa *pufona*, *pahpufona*. The retreats which last four days begin in August, with the lapse of fifteen days between the first and the second, and the second and third. The round of retreats is repeated, as at Jemez; and, as at Jemez, there is a dance at the close of each retreat, a night time kiva dance, excepting after the *kossa* retreat when *pote'e* is danced outside. The *pahpufona* use the kiva of the Winter people. The *samaiyo* also observes a retreat, in August. It is not followed by a dance, and the position in the series of retreats I did not learn. At San Ildefonso there is also a winter series of retreats, begun by the Winter Men who go in after Christmas, for four days. After an interval of fifteen days, the *pahpufona* go in for four nights; then after another fifteen day interval, the *kossa*, for

four nights. In winter, the Tewa *pufona* who use the kiva of the Summer people, observe no retreat. After the retreat of the *pahpufona* there is, on the fifth night, a kiva night dance. Four days after the retreat of the *kossa*, the *kossa* dance outside, dancing *tq sendo share*, Sun old man dance.

At San Juan in August, likewise, the summer series of retreats begins. The Summer chief takes out food, melons, corn etc., to their Mother. To this offering the women have contributed. What is left over from the offering is appropriated by the Summer Men. The retreats are in the following order: Summer Men, Winter Men, *pu'fona*, *kwirana*, *kossa*, *pikædi*. Each group "takes five days," with four days between each retreat. In case of a death in town "this work stops four days." If anyone engaged in the "work" dies, "it breaks it" and the retreat has to start over again. There is no dancing at the close of the retreats.

At Santa Clara I could learn nothing of summer rain retreats. At Nambé they are not observed, and in general they seemed unfamiliar to Benina of Nambé, who stated in fact that they did not occur at San Juan where only, as at Nambé, a summer pilgrimage for rain was observed. This was written in 1926. The following year Benina reported a rain retreat by the Winter chief on June first, and that the Winter chief had opined that henceforward they had better have the ceremonial on May first. Benina asserted that in all the pueblos "calling rain" was the business only of the Town chiefs and of the woman's society.

PILGRIMAGE FOR RAIN

San Juan

After the planting is finished, the *patowa* make an ascent of Mt. Tsikomo to the shrine of *nansipupinge* (earth stomach middle) to sweep out the little ritual roads from the shrine, otherwise it would not rain. All set forth except the *apienu* women who stay behind to watch their altar and to fast. The

kwirana are in the lead, then come the *kossa*, the Summer Man, the Winter Man, *pufona*, and *pixæ*. They leave town at *wari* (rising of the morning star) and return after nightfall. On their way they may not eat; nor gather nor kill anything they pass by.

In case of a great drought a second pilgrimage will be made to reopen the ritual roads which witches have been closing, thus checking the rain.

Nambé

Kusæping, a mountain in the range to the east and north-east, is the sacred mountain to which pilgrimage is made in time of drought, and from which the fetich catus is brought.³⁵⁶

Katepokwin, one of the springs of the *oxuwah*, is also resorted to, in time of drought, by the *patowa*.

DANCES

Tewa dances are difficult to calendar and otherwise describe. The dances differ in varying degree from town to town; and within the town the calendar varies from year to year. Of the public dances some are merely *fiesta* or festive dances, some are conclusions to hidden ceremonial; while some are comparatively non-ceremonial, others are kachina dances without mask, such as are held in other towns.³⁵⁷ Systematic description of the mask dances is, as already stated, out of the question, and accounts of the other dances are peculiarly subject to correction and amplification.

Kachina Dances Without Masks

Okushare (Turtle dance)

San Juan

This dance is performed Christmas day and the day after. After the close of *matachina* (see p. 217) on Christmas day,

³⁵⁶ See p. 116.

³⁵⁷ Isleta; Cochiti (Goldfrank, 1, 108, 109); Jemez (Parsons, 3, 81-92).

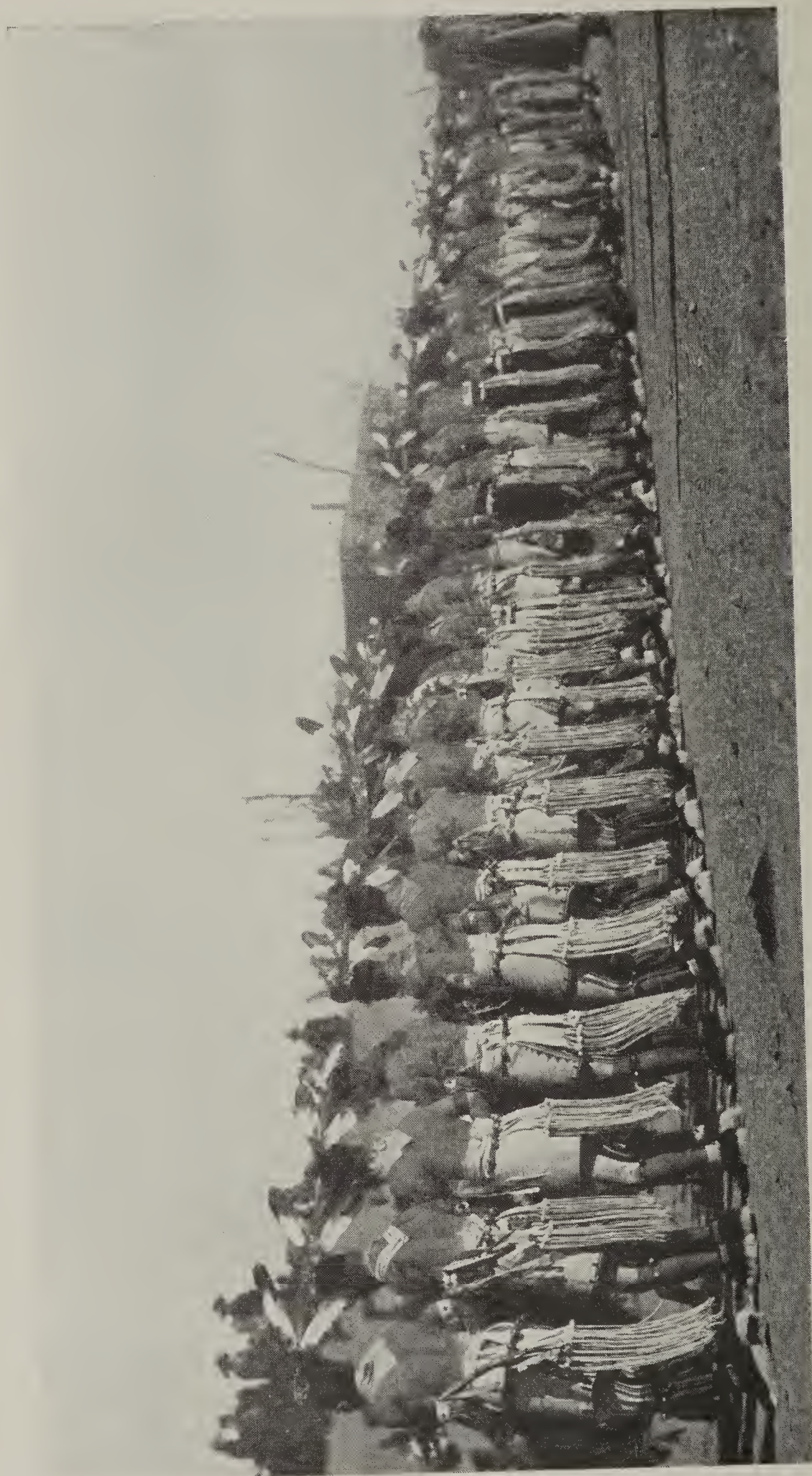
about sundown, the Turtle dancers come out. The next day they come out about 9 A.M. and dance into the afternoon. The dancers, all males, are led out from Little kiva by *kossa sendo*. The younger dancers, boys as young as twelve, are at either end of the line, the older dancers, in the middle. The line begins to dance as it rounds the corner into *bu'pinge* (town court); it dances again in *pa'abu'pinge* (Fish town court), and again in front of Little kiva. These are the three usual dance places. (See map. 2.) The dancers wear the black kilt with large white dance belt (ball fringe), the turtle shell rattle, and in their hair a downy eagle feather (*tsewæ*). In right hand, a gourd rattle, in left, spruce twigs. (Neither spruce pendants from the belt nor fox skin nor head tablet are used.)

The dancers are water-besprinkled by Winter chief and Summer chief, who during the dance have stayed in Big kiva and smoked a long pipe into a bowl of medicine. From this bowl with their feather they sprinkle the dancers and also give the dancers to drink.

The *kossa* are out to play, or, at the option of the War captain, the *kwirana*.

Turtle dance "belongs to" San Juan. It is not danced at Santa Clara, where, my informant opined in general, every other San Juan dance is danced. It is danced, according to an unreliable informant, at San Ildefonso, in Turquoise kiva. Also at Tesuque, when two *kossa* come out. Turtle dance is undoubtedly, like the *tiwa* or *pinitu* dances of Isleta, a kachina dance without mask. In corroboration is the following naïve reference to Keresan kachina by a San Juan woman: "We heard that at Santa Ana at Christmas when they have *okushare* their kachina lady comes out from the lake."

The Mexican term for *okushare* is *paskwa*, a Spanish term of reference to Christmas and to Easter, meaning joy. The Mexican for the day of the dance is *matatsinabeta*, but this appears to be a reference to the *matachina* dance (*matachina*; Tewa, *beta*, day).



Turtle dancers and *kossa sendo*, San Juan.

December 26, 1925.—Although the crowd of visitors, Indian, Mexican, and White, began to arrive about 9 A.M. the dancers did not come out until 12.30³⁵⁸ They came out from Little kiva led by *kossa sendo*, a blanketed figure, distinguished by a ribbon of corn husk in his hair. During the dancing he would stand to one side, near the head of the line. (See pl. 21) There were thirty-seven³⁵⁹ men dancers, and, besides *kossa sendo*, three³⁶⁰ *kossa* (pl. 22) out to play, and two *tsapaiyo* or, in Mexican, *abuelo*.

It was a dance in line, the dancers themselves singing to one large drum³⁶¹ and stamping the regular kachina dance step, the line making the usual half turns in position. Except for the omission of female impersonations, and of the rite of sprinkling meal on the ground by their leader to make the road, or on the dancers to "feed them," it might have been the *ko'kokshi* of Zuñi, without their masks. There were three repetitions of the dance, in Town court, in Fish town court, and in front of Little kiva, where the dancers faced the kiva or west.

The dancers wore the white cotton dance kilt, a lightning design from an edge at the bottom, broad Hopi dance belt, also a belt of bells; turtle-shell rattle (with the animals' toes on the outside) under the right knee, likewise bells and yarn; moccasins, with skunk-fur heel bands. Body painted dark brown, legs above knees whitened. Hands whitened; in right hand a gourd rattle, in left hand spruce twigs, and twigs in arm bands and in belt. Parrot feather between two eagle feathers on one side of head, laid horizontally; on other side a placque or ornament of some kind, very tawdry and tasteless, even American pictures were used. I noticed that of a girl's face from a magazine cover. And all this on the top of a head half shaved! Silk kerchief around neck and glass beads.

³⁵⁸ December 26, 1927, at 12.

³⁵⁹ December 26, 1927, thirty-four.

³⁶⁰ December 26, 1927, five.

³⁶¹ M. Parsons, 178.

The *abuelos* or *tsabiyo* wore buckskin coat and trousers, over them a kilt of cowhide; fur collar, with twigs of spruce attached and erect at the back of the head; black wig, probably of horse hair; flat-faced mask with an outstanding nose,³⁶² as in some American-made masks; earrings of mica. One mask was black, with white ears, *payo tsabiyo*, the Summer *tsabiyo*; the other, white, with red ears, *kwærítsabiyo*, the Winter (people) *tsabiyo*. Each had a diagonal line of red, running from each eye-slit across the cheek. Each *tsabiyo* carried a whip with a thong, which was used in jest against the old men, whom the *tsabiyo* would also shake by the hand. The *tsabiyo* moved about with a kind of swinging gait. They paid little or no attention to the dancers, moving down the line only once. The couple were properly male and female, *abuelo* and *abuela*, grandfather and grandmother. The parts are taken habitually by the same men, as are those of the "Grandfathers" (*te'en*) of Isleta. These men are Kwa'a (Beads) or Demesio Montoya (Winter) and Ohuwaanye (Cloud or kachina moving) or Santos Cruz.

Much more lively than the rather listless "Grandfathers" were the *kossa* who were to carry through two burlesques during the afternoon, one of the Catholic service, in Fish town court, the other of a dance, in Town court. All three *kossa* wore breech-clouts of shabby black cloth with pendant flaps in front and behind. Their body was painted in brown and white stripes, arms and legs also. Turtle-shell rattle at the ankle.³⁶³ Their face was whitened with large black circles around the eyes and mouth. The senior one, a man between forty and fifty, wore his hair in braids wrapped tightly with green ribbon. The hair of the two younger men, men of about twenty-five, was short. All had double peaked caps striped

³⁶² Compare *abuelo* mask at Cochiti. (Dumarest, fig. 2). At Laguna the *abuelo* or *chapiu* wear black masks outlined in white with a white cross on the forehead, the vertical line forming the back of the nose, from the top of which hangs a black tab; on top, tufts of sheepskin. (Goldfrank, 2, 190).

³⁶³ M. Parsons, 179.



Turtle dancers and *kossa*, San Juan.

black and white with corn husk tassels at the peaks. These caps would be passed around in taking up a collection. In the morning each *kossa* had on a necklace of oranges and cakes, which a First Mesa visitor referred to as his lunch, and carried on his back what looked like a bundle of wheat straw.

In the first published account of the Turtle dance McIlvaine Parsons describes part of the morning play of the *kossa* as follows: "Someone let loose a rooster, which began to run, squawking, around the plaza. Immediately, the three clowns rushed pell-mell after it, stumbling over themselves and everything that was in their way. Their actions fairly split the sides of every watcher. One clown made a headlong dive for the rooster, but landed with only a few tail feathers in his hands. Another made a terrific lunge and captured all that was left of what had been a rooster, and, later the clowns cooked and ate him" ³⁶⁴

In the Catholic burlesque of the afternoon each *kossa* donned a red paper cap and vestment of shabby cloth, to one of which a cross of red cloth was appliquéd, and carried a cloth over his right arm. First the "acolyte," standing very erect, brought out from some house a wooden cross, which the "priest," the senior *kossa*, kissed. Then an American trade journal was produced and held by the other "acolyte" for the priest to read from. As he read he turned the pages, all in a very droll imitation of the ecclesiastical manner. Priest and acolytes knelt in prayer. A white porcelain bowl was brought out, this was holy water, and a broom was used to asperge with. Then there was incensing from coals on a board. Meanwhile two visitors, Indians from some other pueblo, had been made to sit in chairs as congregation, and now from this congregation a collection was taken up, the "priest" counting from one to five in Spanish for each coin received. A large

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

crowd, mostly Mexican, had assembled around this burlesque,³⁶⁵ which was found hugely amusing.

While the Turtle dancers were performing in Fish town court, the *kossa* pulled out from the lookers-on two old men,³⁶⁶ of whom one was said to be the governor of San Juan, and seated them opposite each other in chairs. The senior *kossa* then said something to the dance leader, who stopped the dancing, and the dancers stood at ease and laughed heartily at the burlesque. The two old men were told to quarrel, which they did with vehemence, even to pulling each other's braids. Then two women were pulled out from the crowd by the *kossa*, and made to dance with the old men, a very lively step, all four entering into their performance with spirit.

These burlesques³⁶⁷ were what drew the Mexicans, I believe, in such numbers; to the Turtle dance they paid comparatively little attention.

House to house visiting by the Turtle dancers, Christmas Eve, 1927.—Two groups, five dancers in each and a youth to carry their breadsack, I found making house rounds about eight in the evening—one group in Fish town court, the other in Town court, both progressing on the north side and from the west to east. A miscellaneous crowd of whites, San Juan boys, Apache and other Indian visitors, and Mexicans, mostly

³⁶⁵ A burlesque of the mass, with emphasis on the *padre* drinking the wine, was performed recently by the *kossa* at San Ildefonso.

³⁶⁶ The day following the dance I asked a San Juan man if these two were the Winter Man and the Summer Man. No, he emphasized, the chiefs would not be subjected to such burlesque.

³⁶⁷ December 26, 1927, the chief burlesque turned on a chained bear that would break away and chase people, even to the house tops, to the actual terror of the children. A bear hide was drawn over the head and back of one of the *kossa*, of whom there were five out playing. The bear was fastened to a post inside the ash encircled *kossa* "kitchen." Here too a fire was lit, at which the *kossa* lit cigarettes. In 1926 there was a burlesque on Catholic baptism. A *kossa* as *padre* looked for somebody to take to the *tsabiyo* to be baptized. He invited two men from Santa Clara, one the husband of the "rich Osage," one an Apache of Dulce, to become *padrino* (godfather), giving each a card indicating that he should pay \$5.00.

Mexicans, followed the dancers, crowding about the house door. In each house the members of the household, young and old, sat against the walls, in chairs or on blankets folded on the banquette. I had never been before in so many San Juan houses and I got three general impressions: the small size of the low ceiling rooms, the Americanization of their contents—bedsteads, tables, chairs, stoves—and the abundance on the walls of crucifixes and pictures and images of the saints. Not a sign of a *kachina* “doll.” Cradle swings in several houses.

The Turtle dancers wore no headdress,—as at Zuñi, the *kachina* will dance without mask; otherwise they were costumed as in their outdoor appearance. They sang four short songs—an abbreviated performance of five minutes instead of twenty or more. In the middle of the performance the boy with the sack would give a *kossa*-like call, to the amusement of the lookers-on. At the conclusion of the dance, the senior lady of the house fetched loaves for the sack. In one house the old lady called for a repetition of the dance. Although the group in Town court crossed over to the south side about midway in the plaza, there appeared to be no selection of houses, i.e., all the houses, not merely official houses, were to be visited, a visitation which was probably to last till midnight, when, according to my Mexican companion, the dancers would go to the river to wash off their paint.

Unidentified dances

Santa Clara

(Kings' day, January 6, 1926.)²⁶⁸ Ten men dancers. Nude, except for dance kilt. An ear of corn in each hand. Two with hair flowing. The hair of the others was short. The *kossa* were out. The dancing was in front of various houses. I surmise that this group were to dance in mask the same night in kiva.

²⁶⁸ Note by Lila Law.

(January 13, 1926.)³⁶⁹ Nineteen men danced in line to their own song; two women knelt to play on the notched bone, one end of which was propped against a spruce trimmed drum. The women wore the dark dress and a black shawl over their head. The men were nude, and painted black, except the leg above the knee which was whitened. White Hopi dance kilt. Turtle shell rattle under right knee, and bells with red yarn under left knee; white moccasins with skunk heel-band; collar of spruce, green armlets trimmed with spruce; on head, four stiff eagle feathers laid flat as an x with a bunch of small feathers in the centre; in right hand, gourd rattle, in left, spruce twigs.

Santa Clara acquaintances were wholly uncommunicative about the dance, but some Cochiti acquaintances who were present told Mrs. Law that the song was in Keresan. It told how the clouds were coming over the mountains, and the rain falling on the half-grown corn. She was given the term *boye* for the dance, which she took to be Spanish for bull, but which may be, I suggest, Tewan for snow coming. At any rate, this was undoubtedly a winter kachina dance.³⁷⁰

San Ildefonso

(March 2, 1926.)³⁷¹ Sixteen men dancers, in line, dancing to their own song. Movement slow with no changes except for turning to face in the opposite direction. They danced over the four sides of a square.

Black kilt, white shirt, white leggings, turtle rattle under right knee, belt of bells; two feathers in hair, in right hand, gourd rattle, in left hand, spruce twigs.

Inferably this is a maskless dance of the Summer kachina.

San Juan

Antere share (Foot lift dance). A winter dance. The *kossa* are out.

³⁶⁹ Notes by Lila Law.

³⁷⁰ Cf. the Hopi dance at Jemez (Parsons, 3, 87-92).

³⁷¹ Note by Lila Law.

San Ildefonso

Ateye. Line dancers and notch stick playing by two women.
?Hemishikwe of Zuñi, Jemez, Hopi, without mask.

Basket Dance (*t'um share*)³⁷²

San Juan

A one day dance, in winter, some time after Christmas. The dancers are in line, a line of men behind a line of women. The women carry new baskets containing bread, melons, and other fruit. Downy feathers are fastened to the bread, and the women throw the bread to the lookers-on. At one time the women kneel

³⁷² On December 25, 1925, I saw a Basket dance at San Felipe which appears to correspond to the following account of the San Juan Basket dance, which I have not seen. I will therefore give my notes on the Keresan dance.

Men and women dancers. The men wore shirt and Hopi dance kilt, Hopi dance belt, coyote pelt pendant at the back, knitted leggings, high moccasins. (There were two archaic Spanish poncho-shaped shirts, with sleeves slit to the elbow.) Bunch of parrot feathers in hair. Red and green dabs of paint on face, and a stripe of micaceous black across the bridge of the nose. In each hand, two eagle feathers, their butt wrapped with rattling olivella shells. The women wore wrapped moccasins and the native black dress, with a Hopi kilt used as bodice, leaving left shoulder and arms bare. Arms and hands painted yellow. Red yarn around wrists, turquoise-colored armlets. In left hand, small round basket to the rim of which were attached four downy feathers; in right hand, twigs of spruce. Hair flowing; head-dress of squash blossom on one side, macaw feather between two eagle wing feathers, on the other side; streak of turquoise paint across upper part of bang.

Several dance movements—a serpentine with men and women alternating, a straight line figure, a double line figure, men opposite women with a turning right-about-face motion. The lines graded by height of dancers, running down to boys and girls not over ten years old. The appearance (I saw the first of the afternoon appearances) consisted of three repetitions—in the plaza on south side of town, in front of the house of withdrawal of the other dance group who were dancing Buffalo, on north side, in front of the house of withdrawal of the Basket dancers themselves. The Basket dancers were said to be Squash people; the Buffalo dancers, Turquoise people.

For the Basket dancers there was a large choir, from fifteen to twenty, who took dance steps as they sang. Some in the choir had a band of downy feathers stuck to their bang. The dancers themselves were led by a man in white cotton trousers, with a band of downy feathers across his head, and in each hand twigs of spruce.

and simulate grinding in their basket.^{372a} At another time they dance raising and lowering their basket. The women wear in their hair a long yellow feather with a downy eagle feather on either side. They wear the black-blue cloth or blanket dress. In their left hand they carry their basket, in their right hand, the wooden figurine of bird, fish, or animal the men have made for them. Winter chief and Summer chief lead the dancers, who are drawn from both Winter and Summer peoples.

The dancers use Little kiva, where the night before the dance they practice in costume. From the kiva first go all the men, then the women. They go into Town court, where at either end of the dance lines a little spruce tree is set.³⁷³ Carrying the little trees, they return past Little kiva to Fish town court, then to the front of Little kiva. The men withdraw into the kiva, the women, to a large house (house 97, formerly occupied by the Summer chief). After two appearances, they change their basket for another. The *kwirana* and *kossa* are out. They have bathed in advance in the ditch.

Basket dance may be given with or without an appearance of the kachina who, if they come, dance the night preceding. Four kachina come, among them Bear kachina, *keh pufona*, who will go around the town and the fields making passes with his feathers to brush away sickness (*ohuwa peri*). *Ohuwa tsaii* and *ohuwa pendi* bring loads of broom straw to the women assembled in Big kiva for them to sweep with outside their houses, very early in the morning. The *kossa* will come to carry off the sweepings, to the West.

Santa Clara

Soñot'umshare, Zuñi basket dance, is danced at Santa Clara, not at San Juan. The dance was brought from the South,

^{372a} Miss Freire-Marreco compares the Basket dance she saw on October 21, 1912, in Santa Clara, with the Hopi *hemis* kachina with its distinctive grinding feature. (Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 42.)

³⁷³ Spruce is ever closely associated with the kachina. It is from the use of these trees, together with the appearance of the clowns and of that of the Town chiefs that I infer these so-called basket dances are kachina dances or parts of a kachina ceremonial not described, analogous to the *tiwa* or *pinitu* or spruce dances of Isleta.

“from way down.” The dancers stand in line and the little baskets, to which turkey feathers are attached, are raised and lowered by the women dancers as in the San Juan basket dance. The Nambé *kossa* in particular, come out for the dance at Santa Clara.

There is also a *t'ant'umshare*, sun basket dance, which may be danced in December or in February-March, by several men with two women. There are four appearances, two before dinner, two after dinner. The dance belongs to the Winter people.

San Ildefonso

T'um share is danced in February. Squash kiva is used.

Tesuque

T'um share is danced in the spring.

Powinshare (Three³⁷⁴ times dance)

San Juan

This dance may be danced instead of the Basket dance, as it was in February, 1923. It is danced in line, four men, a woman, a number of men, a woman, four men. There are four appearances, so that if four women are in the cast each dances twice; if eight women, each dances once. Little kiva is used. From the kiva the dancers go to the dance place in Town court, thence, passing by way of Little kiva, to the dance place in Fish town court, thence to Little kiva to dance in front and then to withdraw into the kiva, where the women pass on their headdresses to the women next to dance.

The women carry an ear of corn in each hand. They move their arms up and down in characteristic dance fashion, the forearms at right angles to the body. At the back of the head the women wear a fan of eagle tail feathers. The men wear a macaw feather and two eagle feathers in their hair. They

³⁷⁴ See p. 303.

dress as in *okushare*. Their gourd rattle they hold in both hands in front to shake.

Clowns called *pu't'ani* come out, six, eight or ten of them. They wear old ragged clothes, and a cloth over their face, and a hat. They do not sing. They interfere with the women dancers, putting their arms around them and trying to make them make a mistake in dancing. The women get mad with them. I do not know if these parts are taken by the *kossa* who are said to be out at Isleta at the February-March maskless dance by the Dark kachina. The "funny men," *pachu'un*, are the youths who have gathered the spruce for the dance.

Tesuque

Powi share is danced at Christmastide.

Pog'o share

Santa Clara

Two women dance and two men. There are four appearances, with new sets of dancers. The women wear a headdress of feathers in fan shape. The dance belongs to the Summer people. It may be danced in December.³⁷⁵ It was said (by the Santa Clara informant) to be danced in San Ildefonso. Possibly it is to be identified with the *powinshare* of San Juan.

Ti'^{i375a} share

San Juan and Nambé

In English this is called the Butterfly dance, from the feathers like a butterfly worn by the woman dancer at the back of her head. The man dancer wears white trousers and shirt, with feathers around ankles, and in his hand a stone ax. Successive couples, one woman and one man, dance throughout the day, usually there are two performances before the

³⁷⁵ Miss Freire-Marreco saw it danced in 1911 on February 9. (Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 42).

^{375a} Something round.

midday dinner, and two afterwards. The dance is outside, in the spring (and so named Spring dance when it was performed at the Santa Fé fiesta in 1927). It is danced at Nambé, after ditch cleaning, and at San Juan, according to a Santa Clara informant, not at Santa Clara or San Ildefonso.³⁷⁶ At Nambé it is danced also at night, in kiva, and the kachina come later. The *ti'i* couples—there should be twelve—are kept in the house of the head War captain and conducted by him in turn to the kiva.

Tembisha(re)

San Juan

This is a harvest dance, by Summer and Winter people together. "It is a return to the Earth for what she gives us, that is what it means—

na embi na yochu' kwiyo
our earth belongs woman
to us

iko' ihu' yome iko'
eat we give her eat

It is a one-day dance, the dancers coming out "after breakfast" and the dance going on until "the sun goes in." A circle is formed and moves around in sunwise circuit. Within the circle is a line of four dancers, which set keeps changing until all in the circle have been in this line. Those in the circle turn around and as the women turn they raise their basket to their head with their left hand, their right hand they move up to the basket and down again. The men move their hands low from side to side. The dance is said to be named from this turning motion (*tem*, ?teasing song, *bi*, ?turn around); but the etymology seems doubtful.

The women wear their hair parted, with braids alongside their face. In the hair are flowers of different kinds, no feathers. They wear colored shawls. The women dancers throw bread on the ground, in the circle, for the lookers-on to get. The

³⁷⁶ But see p. 211.

*kossa*³⁷⁷ are out and in baskets on their back carry melons, apples, and chili, to throw out to the people. The dancers (?men) sing. They are led by the Town chiefs, first the Summer Man, then the Winter Man. Four days before the dance they go into some large house to practice. On the morning of the dance the Summer people first go to the Summer Man's house and the Winter people, to the Winter Man's house, then all assemble in the large house they have practiced in, to come out to dance. The circle forms in Town court between houses 16 and 47, then in Fish town court opposite house 20, then in Low town court. Neither kiva is used. *T'embisha* is said to be an old, old dance,³⁷⁸ danced only at San Juan and San Ildefonso. It is in part suggestive of the Flute dance of Jemez.

San Ildefonso

Tembishare is danced as a harvest dance. The *kossa* come out, and scatter corn.

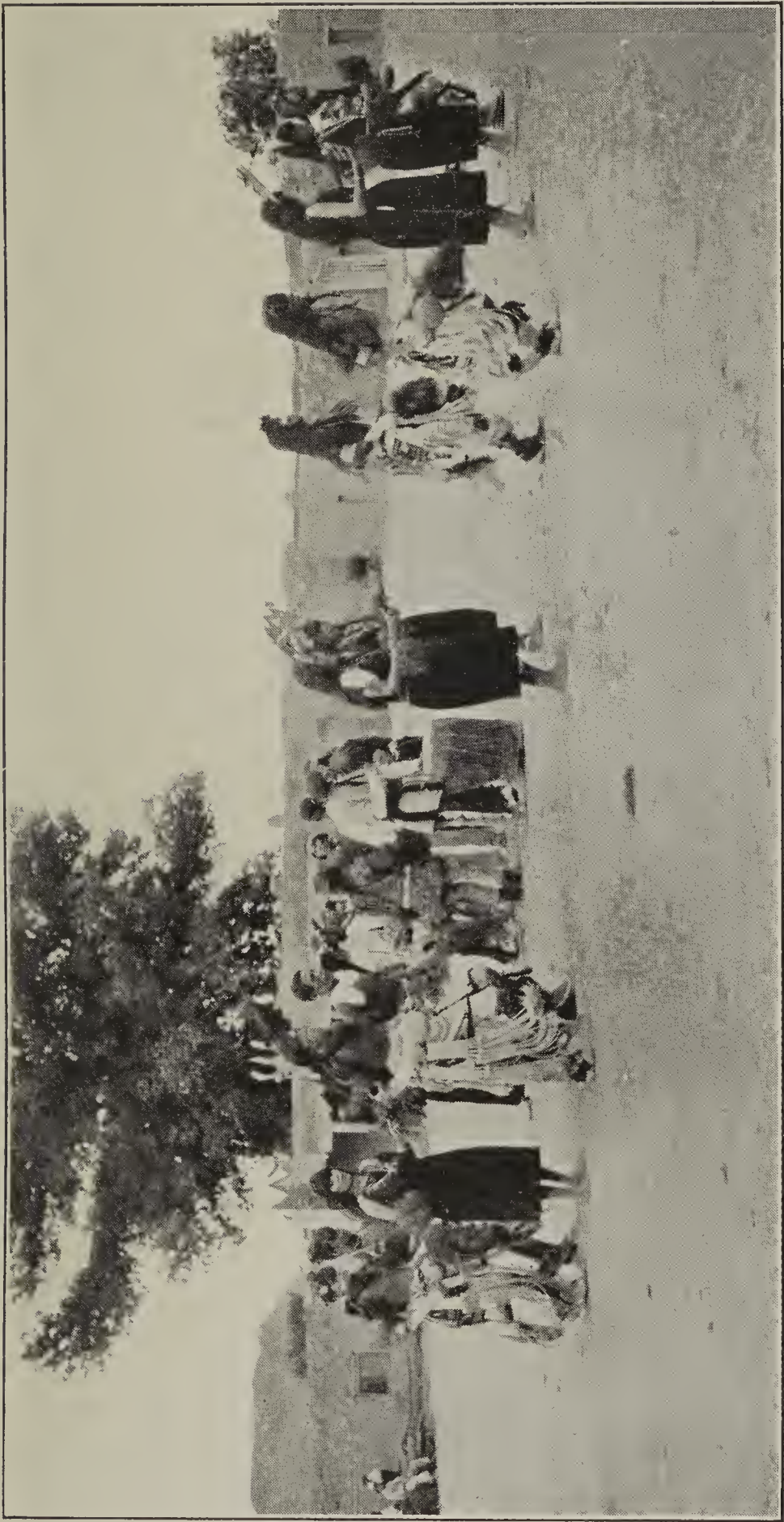
Tablet or *tablita* dance, *ko'heye*

San Juan

Regularly on San Antonio's day, June 13, *ko'heye* is danced. Little kiva is used. The saint is taken from the church to Town court to be danced before. The men carry spruce and gourd, holding the gourd well forward and rattling it on turning, as in the Turtle dance. The feather down on the women's flowing hair is called *oku* (clouds). The faces of both women and men have circles of red paint. In March, 1923, before planting, they danced the Jemez *ko'heye* which some San Juan people had seen. It was just the same as the San Juan dance, but with Jemez songs. "All those Jemez songs they did not know," however.

³⁷⁷ For which reason, again, I am tentatively classifying the dance as part of a *kachina* ceremonial.

³⁷⁸ It is said to be not danced at Tesuque.



Kohaiye share or Tablita or Corn dance, San Ildefonso, September 6, 1926. Note choir in middle background.



Kohaiye share, San Ildefonso, September 6, 1926. Note kossa.

Santa Clara

By a San Juan informant *ko'heye* was said to be danced at Santa Clara. Here the women wore tablets on their head (so by Mexicans the dance was called *tablita*), painted blue-green, yellow, and white with downy eagle feathers fastened along-side and on top.

At the Santa Fé fiesta in 1927 *tablita* was danced by the Summer people.

San Ildefonso

(September 6, 1926.) I have no note on this dance, but from the photographs (pls. 23, 24, 25a, 26), taken by Mr. George Law, it may be recognized as *kohaiye share* which I was told was danced in September, Outside kiva being used. Plate 26 shows this kiva in use. *Kossa sendo* and another *kossa* are standing on the steps, and the dance standard projects above the hatch. In pl. 25a, the standard is being shaken over the dancers in the manner characteristic of this dance^{378a}. Also in this picture we see the saint's bower.

Nambé

At the Santa Fé fiesta in 1927 Nambé presented, besides *ti'i share* and Elk dance, the Yellow corn dance (*kutseysha*) which several decades ago used to be danced at Nambé on its Saint's day. In each hand with spruce the women carry an ear of yellow corn. No *tablita* is worn, but a large downy eagle feather, flowing hair, with down spotted over it. An eagle tail fan at the back of the men's heads. The right side of their body is painted black with (*na*) *poshq*, the left side, white with *tq*. Dance kilt with metal tags (*oyike ware*, Winter Man wrap around), and deer skin mantle.

Tesuque

See pl. 27.

^{378a} See Parsons, 9, 182.

This dance has been described at Jemez³⁷⁹, Sant Ana,³⁸⁰ San Domingo,³⁸¹ Acoma,³⁸² Laguna³⁸³ and Cochiti.³⁸⁴ It is the dance most commonly given at Catholic fiesta or Saint's day. By white visitors it seems to be referred to as a Corn dance. Between the blessing-bringing saints and the kachina who bring corn and fruit there is a close relationship conceptually, perhaps historically also. And so I include the Corn or *Tablita* dance among the maskless kachina dances. As in them, the *kossa* are out and the men dancers are arrayed in full kachina dance outfit. Distinctive features are the *tablita* headdress of the women dancers—a cloud symbol tablet—and the banner-like standard carried in the choir.

Kossa dances

Yan'dewa

Santa Clara

There are four dancers, two girls with baskets, and two boys. The women wear the white blanket dress. On their back is a sun tablet because of which white people call the dance "Sun dance." *Yan'dewa* is danced by the Winter people, sometimes on the Saint's day, sometimes Christmas night. It is never danced by the Summer people in Santa Clara, but they danced it in Santa Fé, *the women substituting a moon tablet for the sun tablet*, an indication perhaps of the association between the Summer people and the Moon.

Tq sendo share (Sun old man dance)

San Ildefonso

Danced outside by the *kossa* after their winter retreat.

³⁷⁹ Parsons, 3, 98-100.

³⁸⁰ Parsons, 9.

³⁸¹ Census, 115-118.

³⁸² Lummis.

³⁸³ Goldfrank, 2.

³⁸⁴ Goldfrank, 1, 73, 108-



a

Kohaiye share, San Ildefonso, September 6, 1926. Note choir, *kossa*, and bower of the saint.



b

Dance of horned animals, Cochiti, January 6, 1925.



San Ildefonso, September 6, 1926.
Kossa sendo and another *kossa* on the steps of Outside kiva during *Kohaiye share*

Kossa kewin (finish) dance

San Juan

After an initiation into the *kossa* a circle dance is performed outdoors during which the relatives of the initiate throw goods to the dancers.

Game Animal Dances

San Juan

Deer dance, p'æ share: Buffalo dance: Hopi Buffalo dance

The dancers, thirty or more, among them boys to represent fawns, come in from the eastern hills at sunrise. Before coming in they have built fires in the hills, "not to get cold." There are two "Apache boys" with the Deer dancers "to take care of them." The dancers are cared for also and led in by *pinkæ sendo*. "He makes the road, sprinkles meal for those deer," from his bandolier pouch. Across his shoulder he wears a buckskin. His whole face is painted black. His hair is flowing. The face of the deer dancers is painted red all over. They wear horns and visor, but no mask. (See pls. 28, 29.)

At the conclusion of the dance when they go away, the women and girls run after them. Any one who catches a dancer is subsequently that day given meat by the household of the impersonator she caught.

The Deer dancers use Little kiva. They are drawn from both Winter and Summer peoples. The dance is performed *after Christmas*, every other year alternating with the Buffalo dance (*ko'share*).

Buffalo dance (ko'share). The Buffalo dancers also use Little kiva, both sets. In each set there are two boys and a girl. One set is black, the men without shirts, their body painted black, and the other set, white, the men wearing white shirts. The men wear buffalo hides drawn up over their head, showing the horns. The "black" girl wears the blue-black Pueblo cloth dress, the "white" girl the Hopi white blanket dress with the

white, red and green belt. Both girls have their whole face painted black.

Each set comes out twice to dance, i.e., there are in all four dance appearances.

*Hopi Buffalo dance.*³⁸⁵ January 19, 1926 it was presented for the first time, introduced by the Second Mesa (Shipaulovi) Hopi married into San Juan. Two men dancers, two women. The men wore the buffalo headdress with a pelt hanging from the neck down the front of the body. White shirt, white kilt, white crocheted hose, whitened moccasins with skunk heel-bands, bells on each leg with strands of red yarn. In left hand, a lightning stick, in right, a leathery-looking crook trimmed with feathers. The women wore the white Hopi blanket dress and whitened moccasins with skunk heel-bands. On their back, the Sun tablet with three long upward-standing feathers. Headdress of square Hopi squash flower pattern with three long sidewise-standing feathers. False bang, but not very long. In each hand two feathers.

The dance movements seemed identical with those seen January 6th in the Hopi Buffalo dance at Santa Clara. The songs were said by some Santa Clara men present to be somewhat different.

Santa Clara

Goat dance: Hopi Buffalo dance.—There is no Deer dance at Santa Clara, "but we have *k'uwa share* (goat dance)," added my informant, this appearing to her mind an equivalent. This Goat dance may be danced on Santa Clara day, by the Winter people.

On Kings' day, January 6, 1926, was presented for the first time the Hopi Buffalo dance.³⁸⁶ Philip, the Tewa from First Mesa, married at Santa Clara, introduced the dance. . . . The two men dancers wore the Buffalo headdress, dance kilts,

³⁸⁵ Note by Lila Law.

³⁸⁶ Note by Lila Law.



Tablita dancers.



Deer dancers and *pink& sendo*, San Juan.

ordinary shirts, crocheted hose. The two women dancers wore the native cloth dress. At their back was the sun tablet. Flower headdress, and false bang that fell to the mouth (a conspicuous Western feature).

San Ildefonso

Buffalo dance: Dance of Horned Animals.—There is a Buffalo dance of the eastern type—two men dancers and one woman, there being four performances, each time a different set of dancers. Turquoise kiva is used. The dance is given after Christmas.

*Deer, Antelope, Mountain sheep and Buffalo dance, San Ildefonso day, January 23, 1926.*³⁸⁷

The evening of January 22 the "animals" came out of a building, wandered about the plaza, and ascended to the roof of another building and danced on it before descending through the hatch.

At dawn a choir of five went to the edge of the pueblo and began to sing, very solemnly. A cloud of smoke arose between the two hills³⁸⁸ and the "animals" were seen descending. They zigzagged through the pueblo and entered a building. Mass was held. After it the choir stood in front of the building the "animals" were in and began to sing. Then the "animals" came out to perform their dance. There were:

Three Buffalo dancers, two male, one female. The men wore a buffalo headdress, with one pendant feather at the back, and downy feathers attached to horns. Body and face painted black. Abalone shell pendant. Leather kilt with zigzag design and metal fringes, moccasins with skunk heel-band, feathers tied to legs. In left hand, bow and arrow; in right,

³⁸⁷ Note by Lila Law. See plate 25*b* for the same dance given at Cochiti, January 6, 1925. To left are Deer and Mountain Sheep bending over dance sticks. To right, Buffaloes. The skirt and flowing hair of the Buffalo woman can just be distinguished. Also the upright figure of the *shaiak* (*samaiyo*), with white pigment or bird's down on top of his head. See Goldfrank, 1, 106-107.

³⁸⁸ To the South?

gourd rattle. The Buffalo woman³⁸⁹ wore a buffalo-shaped headdress of turkey feathers. Black dress, red shawl, white moccasins with skunk heel-bands. In right hand, gourd rattle; in left, two eagle feathers.

Five Deer dancers. Antler headdress, downy feathers to horns, with a fan of feathers at the back and in front a visor of slender sticks. Face blackened. White shirt, white Hopi dance kilt, girdle of bells, crocheted hose with red yarn under knees. The figures leaned over a stick in each hand. (See Ph. 25b).

Two Antelope dancers. Antelope headdress; downy feathers to horns. Face blackened. Back painted yellow, white tights. They leaned over one stick. During the dance they would wander about the small spruce tree in the plaza or lie down on either side.

Five Mountain sheep dancers. Mountain sheep horn headdress; downy feathers to horns. Face blackened. White shirt, black kilt, bell girdle, crocheted hose, with red yarn. They leaned over two sticks.

Two "shepherds," one with antelope, one with deer. Leather clothes; short hair with *banda*.

Hunter [*samaiyo*]. Dressed in white buckskin, carrying bow and arrows. He led the dance, especially the Buffalo dancers.

Nambé

Elk dance (ta share).—This is danced on the Saint's day, San Francisco day, October 4, unless there is a race. It was danced in 1925 when Tesuque dancers participated.

The night of October 3, two Deer impersonators went out to the mountains to sleep. Together with the other Deer im-

³⁸⁹ To Mrs. Law she was called Malinche, the Mexican term regularly given to whites by the Eastern Pueblos for any distinctive female impersonation. She was also told the story which I found current at Taos among whites, that anciently when the animals did not come down from the mountains and there was famine, two maidens were sent to entice them down. Possibly this is a version, fitted for white consumption, of the story of hiding the animals away.



Deer dancers, San Juan.

personators, eight of them, and ten Elk impersonators, they had observed a period of four days' retreat in the kiva and of continence. At sunrise, October 4, those who had remained overnight in the kiva ascended to the roof to see the Deer on the hill, and then went out to meet them, calling out *hu! hu! hu!* The choir went only a little way out. They should all be led in to town by the *pikæ* or *samaiyo*; but in 1925 there was no leader.

Tradition goes that this dance had been bought from Taos. Land was sold to Mexicans, and with the proceeds were bought ten turquoises, five red hard beads, twelve dance blankets (*sehga*), twelve *kwapoa*, twelve deer skins, for the *samaiyo* of Nambé to give to the *samaiyo* or *pikæ* of Taos for the dance, together with a promise that the ceremony would always be properly or strictly performed, lest the pueblo of Nambé die out.

To be performed properly two Deer impersonators should observe a retreat of twelve days in the mountains, during which the War captains should take them food twice a day, a meal of rabbit meat and of bread made without lard. For the other impersonators there should be a retreat of five days in the kiva with continence, but without fasting.

Deer dance.—There are four Deer impersonations with one woman to bring them in—*pæpakqade* (deer brings in). She is like the woman who brings in the kachina, actually the same woman, Yætsey, takes both parts. After bringing the deer into the plaza, the woman makes a circle of pollen for each deer, to hold them, I surmise. All come in from the East, early in the morning. There have been four nights of practice dancing, but no retreat.

Tesuque

Buffalo dance.—(San Diego day, November 12, 1926.) At noon the line dancers emerged through the hatch of the kiva at the southeast corner of town, the Winter people's

kiva—the choir down first as usual, ten men to stand in two lines, the drummers in front. The dancers began to dance as soon as they left the ladder, taking position in two lines vis-à-vis, eighteen men and women alternating in the line, thirty-six in all. After the short dance in front of the kiva they proceeded in dance step to the singing of the choir along the road around the south side of town. In this progress, as in later circuits, they were led by “their father” who during the dancing in place would stand off a little distance from the dancers.

The men dancers wore rough buckskin kilts except a few who had the tailored buckskin kilt trimmed with metal tags and painted with the horned serpent. Belt and anklets of bells; low moccasins, with skunk heel-bands. Horn (cow horn) blackened projecting from right side of head, on left side, fan of six or more eagle tail feathers, horn and feathers attached to a beaded head band; hair in belted queue or short. Strips of pelt (? sheep skin) pendent from headdress, armlets, and from below knees. In right hand, rattle of gourd or of cotton-covered can; in left hand, bow and arrows. Upper and lower parts of face black, with a broad red stripe across the bridge of the nose. In one dance line the body was blackened, in the other, reddened;³⁹⁰ on backs of all splotches of white paint, and thighs, forearms and hands whitened. The foremost figure in each line carried the familiar dance standard, an oblong piece of cloth, with pendent eagle feathers, attached to a long pole—red cloth for the black line, purple cloth for the red line.

The women dancers wore silk or velvet dresses with back kerchief. Wrapped moccasins. Hair flowing and spotted with bird down; bang to eyes. The hair of four or five of the younger

³⁹⁰ One would surmise that the two dance lines represent the two moieties; but this was said (by a San Juan informant who had been present) not to be the case. The difference in body pigmentation means nothing at this particular dance. The dancers are mixed, from both Winter and Summer peoples; they are appointed by the Outside chief, and they do not line up by moiety.

ones was bobbed. A red spot on each cheek; hands whitened, in each, two eagle feathers. One girl carried instead turkey feathers.

Passing into the plaza through the opening at the southwest corner, the two lines formed at right angles to the spruce-set door of House 16, within which were the Buffalo group proper. This group of five now issued from the house, the house of the Winter Man (*oyike*) to dance between the two lines of attendant dancers—first “their father,” the *samaiyo*, then one whom a white would naturally call a hunter, but whom a San Juan man referred to vaguely as another *samaiyo*,³⁹¹ then the two Buffalo old men, the Buffalo woman between them. Led by “their father,” the Buffalo group danced in a serpentine down the middle, the attendant lines executing a special dance movement, the women standing in place, the men stepping out first to one side of the line and then to the other—uttering sharp, shrill hoots or yelps. As soon as the Buffalo group reached the end of the lines, forming opposite the house door a third side, the movement changed, all the dancers facing now east, now west, and taking a lively stamping step, the men as usual stamping more vigorously than the women, who held their right arm at right angle to the body, the left arm folded against it. The men made the half turn to east or west with a quick forward bend of the body. Between these two dance movements, the serpentine figure and the hollow square or turning figure, the standard bearers led their respective lines around in a circling quadrille-like movement. The dance consisting of these three movements, was repeated three times.

From the position in front of the Winter Man's house the whole group passed on to a position in front of the church, with a hopping dance step, the dancers making half turns to

³⁹¹ This was Poyota (Reed mark) or Tomas Suaso, the Fire *pufona*. “Maybe he was the one to cure (cleanse or exorcise) them before they danced.”

east or west, and the choir following them. The dance with its three movements was repeated several times in front of the church. Thence to a position in front of the spruce tree planted within the plaza. Repetition of dance, five times. Thence back to the position in front of the Winter Man's house, with repetition of dance, and withdrawal of the Buffalo group into the house, the two attendant lines returning to the kiva by the route they had left it. The whole appearance lasted three quarters of an hour. There was another appearance before dinner, and two appearances afterwards. Dinner was eaten in the kiva down the hatch of which women passed their bowls.

In the Buffalo group "their father" had his face reddened, his hands whitened, a piece of spruce in his right hand. He wore his ordinary clothes, with a fresh green silk *banda* over his short hair. He looked about forty. The "hunter" was an old man, with a limp. He was dressed in buckskin, buckskin fringed trousers and buckskin mantle over a white cotton shirt. His hair in a queue, and spotted on top with bird-down, an eagle tail feather in the forelock. His face was blackened. His quiver on his back, bow and arrows in left hand, in right, some small feathers and pendent hairs attached to something which I could not make out. Each Buffalo old man and the Buffalo woman carried the same sort of thing in his right hand. In their left the Buffalo men carried a bow with spruce, the Buffalo woman two eagle feathers with spruce. The Buffalo men wore a headdress of two horns with downy feathers at the tips attached to a large piece of pelt (buffalo or perhaps bear skin) falling over head and shoulders. A fan of eagle tail feathers over the pelt at the back of the head. Dance kilt. Face and body blackened with white crosses or x's on body, on arms and lower legs, in front and behind. (See pl. 30, which is, however, not accurate in some details). The Buffalo woman wore a white Hopi blanket dress with silk kerchief hanging on the left side, arms bare. Forearms and hands



Buffalo dance, Tesuque

whitened; upper part of face red, lower part, black, with white splotches on cheeks. Hair flowing, with bang to eyes. Wrapped moccasins, with skunk heel-bands. The Buffalo woman was a very stout, very sober woman of about forty-five. The impersonator, I was told, should ever be a woman who is not frivolous with men. This impersonator looked the part.

The dancing in the plaza concluded at a quarter of five, when all the dancers, attendant line dancers and choir, as well as the Buffalo group, withdrew into the ceremonial house for about a quarter of an hour, during which I observed a matron come out from House 2 on the opposite side of the plaza and proceed to break off the tip of the spruce in the middle of the plaza, together with the prayer-feathers attached to it. After emerging from the ceremonial house, the attendant lines of dancers danced back as usual to their kiva, in front of which the complete dance was executed. The black line was the first to withdraw up the ladder. In this, as in all the earlier ascents, every dancer kept on with his dance step until he disappeared through the hatch. During this final dance the "father" of the Buffalo group stood near by, looking on informally, having donned a pair of overalls and an old *banda*. Inferably the ritual of the Buffalo group had terminated. As on the spruce tip in the middle of the plaza, so on the tips of the spruces at either side of the door of the ceremonial house, there were prayer-feathers and those, too, were broken off, I noted on my return from the final kiva dance to the plaza.

During one of the dance appearances I visited the hill range south and southeast of town. In the stone shrine at the highest point were observed prayer-feather bunches which included a long spear of grass, as did the prayer-feathers attached to the spruces in the plaza. The feathers, too, were similar—turkey, eagle, yellow bird or warbler, jay. There were also cane joints stoppered with yellow bird feathers.³⁹²

³⁹² For fuller description of this shrine, see pp. 244-245.

Indirectly I learned that this morning at dawn the Buffalo had descended from the southern hills (the southwestern range, said my Mexican-white informant) to come into town.

After the dance, more prayer-feathers were to be deposited. We recall the feathers carried in the dance by the Buffalo group, by the Buffalo men, the Buffalo women, and the Hunter. All these would be given to the *samaiyo*, "their father," for him to offer the following morning in the hills. Perhaps he took them up early, before dawn. At any rate, early, before dawn, that October 13, there was a rainfall.

A week or so later I met a San Juan man who had attended this Buffalo dance and was communicative. He told me that the four men in the Buffalo group had been in retreat, observing continence, for four days in the house of the *samaiyo mayo*, i.e., "their father," (The Buffalo woman was not in retreat, nor had she to remain continent.) During the retreat "they put down their *pokwinge* (lake, i.e., medicine bowl, i.e., altar), making a circle of meal within which were placed the Buffalo heads (i.e., headdresses). These they fed. The Buffalo heads had to be in a room without fire. (Inferably because the Buffalo are snow bringers.) During the ceremonial any sick person may ask the Buffalo for help. The patient will ask the Outside chief to ask the *samaiyo*, with a cigarette. Then the *samaiyo* will take a Buffalo head to the house of the patient upon whose head he will place the Buffalo head, also touching the palms and soles of the sick one with the head. The final dance performance will be in front of the house of the patient. At the conclusion of the dance when the whole group withdraw into the house of the Winter Man, the Buffalo and the attendant dancers remain in the outer room, the *samaiyo* (the *samaiyo majo*' and the Hunter) withdrawing to an inner room; the *samaiyo* may not be touched by a woman. After dancing in the Winter Man's house to give him thanks, all are given by him a drink of medicine-water.

Note on Buffalo dance at San Felipe, December 25, 1925.—For comparison, I will give my notes on the Keresan Buffalo dance I saw at San Felipe, and have already referred to in connection with the Basket dance on the same day, Christmas, 1925. Like the Basket dancers, the Buffalo dancers danced in three places, in the plaza, before the house of withdrawal of the Basket dancers, before their own house. There were four Buffalo men, and four Buffalo women. The choir of thirty men and little boys, all garishly toggged up with ribbons and bits of finery, at times danced alongside the Buffalo, as if they were a part of the herd. In the main dance figure, however, the choir stood dancing bunched together with their backs to the Buffalo and dancing away from them. The Buffalo stood in two lines, in one the Buffalo women, and opposite, the Buffalo men who individually executed dance circles in front of the Buffalo women. The line of Buffalo women danced first in a northerly position, then repeated the movement, in the west, then in the south, lining up in the east without dancing, i.e., they danced anti-sunwise over a square.

The Buffalo men wore their hair flowing and over it the Buffalo headdress or wig with small parti-colored horns, blue at the tip, yellow at the base. Face and body blackened. Kilt of white cotton with design of black horned snakes, trimmed with metal tags; two eagle feathers tied under each knee, and two to each arm. In the left hand, black bow with four eagle feathers pendant; in right hand, black gourd rattle. The Buffalo women wore the black native dress, at their back the sun tablet or placque—a design of the sun face, two in yellow, girt with turkey feathers, two in turquoise, girt with eagle feathers, the stripes on the “face” in red (see design). In right hand, the so-called sun ladder stick,³⁹³ turkey feathers in left hand.



Several small trees—spruce, piñon, and cedar—were set standing in various places about the town.

San Juan³⁹⁴

Eagle dance (tse share).—Danced by two men, in the spring sporadically. Formerly it was danced annually, in the winter, by young boys. Nowadays boys will not keep the rules, so older men are chosen. There is a retreat for them of four days, in Big kiva, without fire. (Nowadays they cannot stand the cold as they could formerly, therefore the retreat

³⁹³ Parsons, 15.

³⁹⁴ Danced at Cochiti (Goldfrank, 1, 107), probably elsewhere. At Zuñi the eagle dancer in the *watempla* is in mask. See Chamberlin, 114, for an eagle dance by two girls with St. John in mask on St. John's day, in the Balearics.

is held in the spring.) During this time they have to observe continence, and they are given to eat but one ear of white corn a day, with a little medicine water to drink. They are rubbed with medicine water, so as not to tire in their performance. On the fourth day they dance outside, and that night again inside Big kiva where all the townspeople go.

This dance or rather ceremonial is associated with curing which, if called for, is practiced on the third night of the retreat. Any kind of sickness is treated. There is an altar with a bowl of medicine water, and other things to which the sacred meal is fed. The shell dipper for the medicine water rests on the feet of the doctor. Into it the patient dips his finger, putting it into his mouth. (This manner of taking the medicine water was cited as the striking peculiarity of this Eagle cure ritual.)

The doctor or chief of the Eagle people (*tse t'owa*) is Kqt-sey, Yellow buffalo, or Carnacion Montoya, an old man who has been in charge of the group for thirty years. He it is, of course, who does the curing, brushing the patient with eagle feathers. He has a right-hand man, a left-hand man, and a third (*yari'*) man. This group is called Eagle people. Between them and the Mountain Eagle clan (or any other clan) there is no relation. (I surmise, however, that it was such a ceremonial group in the other pueblos that got listed in 1895 as a clan.) Yellow Buffalo is also a Flint *pufona*.

San Ildefonso

In the *tseh sha*, Squash kiva is used.

Santa Clara

Eagle may be danced outside at any time. It is not danced by moiety. It is danced in two ways, by two women and two men (see frontispiece), or by two men only.

About 11:45 a.m. (December 25, 1927) the two Eagle dancers with a choir of five drummers and singers came out of house 47, which is a house habitually used by dancers and

was said by a San Juan man to belong to the Winter chief. The Eagles wore a cap of raw cotton to which was attached a yellow-green beak falling over the nose. The face was painted the same yellow-green with red under the eyes. Shoulders and neck, white; forearms and hands yellow-green; on chest and on back a spot of yellow-green set around with raw cotton or downy feathers. Legs and feet, yellow-green. Along the outer arms eagle wing feathers with fringe of red yarn, where the feathers were fastened to the arms. Kilt of untrimmed buckskin belted with turquoise painted leather, a fringe of red yarn and a girdle of bells. Red yarn and bells under knees. Bare feet and above the ankle on either side an erect eagle feather set in cotton or down—a skillful and beautiful get-up.

The dance was performed at four places, see map 3—A, C, D, B, the Eagles proceeding in dance step from place to place. In the first figure the Eagles faced each other and danced over a line of about twelve feet. In the second figure, the Eagles danced first erect, then in squatting posture, their arm wings extended. Repeated thrice. The third figure consisted of circling manœuvres. This mimetic and withal conventionalized dance must require much practice and agility.

A guard and three old men, of whom one was Santiago Naranjo, accompanied the dancers.

Tesuque

Eagle is danced.

Nambé

Snake dance, *pæyo share*.—The Snake dance belongs to the Summer people. It is said to have been brought from the Utes who told the Nambé traders visiting them to dance it the day after their return home.

Two men perform the mimetic Snake dance. Of one the body is painted white, spotted with black, with face half white, half black; of the other the body is painted red, spotted

with white, with face half red, half white. They wear white dance kilts on which snakes are painted. The kilts are without metal fringes because they are Summer people. Moccasins, with skunk heel-bands. Buffalo hide cap with eagle tail feather pendent to the ground. This is referred to as the "snake's tail." In right hand, gourd rattle, in left the Snake stick (*p̄̄yo pe*), a short straight yellowish stick with downy eagle feathers tied to it with yucca.

For these dancers the singing drummers are Yantsire or Marco Tapia (house 17), Tamutsæ or Juan Tafoya (house 7), and Muaanye or Alcario Peña (house 9).

War dances

Santa Clara

"*French war dance*," *kwi'tara share*.³⁹⁵—(June 13, 1926.)³⁹⁶ Fourteen men and fourteen women. The women in line turning from side to side, the men weaving in and out between the women. Men wore long, much decorated trousers, the trunk nude and painted in different colors. Various designs painted on face. Feather headdress. In left hand, a banner, in right, a weapon,—pistol, war club, etc. Women wore their silk dresses and kerchiefs, feathers in hair. Spruce in hands.

San Juan

*Frqse*³⁹⁷ *share or hemiṇshare*.³⁹⁸—Danced on alternate years on San Juan's day. Men and women dance, the men moving in and out between the women. Two standards are carried at the head of the line of dancers. The standards are topped by painted gourd and lance head with a cloth or sash length-

³⁹⁵ Term for Tewan war dance in distinction to the war dances from Oklahoma.

³⁹⁶ Notes by Lila Law.

³⁹⁷ Français, i.e., French dance.

³⁹⁸ Equated by a San Juan informant with *kwi'tara share* at Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, and Nambé.



Kwilara, San Ildefonso.



Kwaitara, San Ildefonso

wise. There is a drummer who sings. The women carry two eagle feathers set in a corn cob. The men carry painted sticks and guns. The dancers come out from Big kiva, dance in Town court, then in Fish town court, then in front of Big kiva.

San Ildefonso

Kwitará.—Dance by men and women, in line. It is the saint's day dance (January 23).³⁹⁹ Turquoise kiva is used. (Pls. 31-33.)

Tesuque

Kwitará.—(See pl. 34.)

Yere'⁴⁰⁰

Tesuque

San Diego day, November 12, 1923. At 2.30 in the afternoon, when I reached Tesuque, the dance was on to continue for the following half hour when the dancers withdrew for dinner to a house on the northwest side of town, a house which was said by a San Juan man to serve for the war dances borrowed from Oklahoma. This was the second appearance before dinner, there were to be two appearances after dinner, four in all. To the dancers' house women were carrying baskets of bread bowls of stew, coffee pots, etc.

After dinner the dancers came out and proceeded with a dance step into the plaza—they had withdrawn at a walk. There were twenty-six dancers, men and women, besides a choir of twelve men including their drummer. There were two dance movements or figures:

(1) Men and women alternating, one behind the other, form a ring which circles anti-sunwise, the men stepping high,⁴⁰¹ the women taking smaller, shuffling steps, both men and women pausing from time to time

³⁹⁹ Not always, see p. 171.

⁴⁰⁰ Called Arrow dance, Hunters' dance, Snowbird dance, by the *farceurs* at Tesuque. Possibly this dance should be classified among the maskless kachina dances.

⁴⁰¹ Probably this step gives the dance its name.

to make an individual revolution, also anti-sunwise. The women hold their arms at right angle to the body, moving them alternately up and down. In both hands they carry two long tail-feathers, probably eagle, which are bound at the butt by corn husk.

(2) The ring of alternating men and women dance in place, all in the circle facing now in, now out. The men make two short beats or hops on one foot, then one on the other, with the body bent forward, and the left hand holding their bow advanced, in the right hand, an arrow. The women take small hopping steps. Again their arms are at right angle to the body, but instead of an alternating motion they lift both arms together, in two jerks to the level of the head, whence they bring them down again in two distinct movements or jerks. There are two or three breaks in the circle, but no leader is conspicuous, at any time.

Dancing into the plaza from the kiva with figure number 1 the dance set made a sunwise circuit, then turning, in another place in the plaza they formed their anti-sunwise moving circle. After dancing this and figure 2 they moved back to the first place, to repeat both figures. Coming in, the choir kept in four rows, four to the row.

The choir consisted mostly of older men, who were dressed in their ordinary clothes, a few in buckskin-fringed trousers. The men dancers wore the dance kilt of black Hopi cloth, with the broad white fringed Hopi dance belt which was knotted at the back, no fox skin. They wore also a girdle of bells, and some of them bell anklets. They wore their usual moccasins, but with skunk fur heel-bands, also knitted leggings tied below the knee with hair belting, i.e., the same kind of woven belt their queue was tied with. Above the queue spread fan-wise some eagle tail feathers attached to a band around the head. In the forelock, a downy feather. The face was painted black from the forehead to the upper lip, white below the mouth, their hands were whitened. They wore shirts and over them their festal necklaces.

The women dancers wore the usual native cloth dress, under it the cotton slip. The dress of some was made not of cloth, but of cotton or silk. The usual silk kerchief hung across the shoulders. They wore the wrapped moccasins of the South



Choir for (?) *Kwitará*, San Ildefonso.



Kwitara dancers, Tesuque.

and West, not the Tanoan moccasin boot. Their hair was flowing with a large downy feather in the forelock and bits of down stuck over the flowing hair. On their cheeks were solid circles of red paint.

San Ildefonso

Ye're' share is danced by men and women, in line, outside. Outside kiva is used. Performed "when they want to." *Ye're'e* was danced the last time in October.

Ti'di share (shield dance)

San Ildefonso

This is referred to as a woman's dance. There is a ring of women "dressed as men," with bow and arrow. One man dances. A summer time dance.

Tesuque

Tiri share is danced by men.

San Ildefonso

Owæ' share.—A women's summer time dance, in which the women burlesque the men who talk back.

Burlesque by women at San Ildefonso, March 8-9 1926.⁴⁰²—March 8. Women dancers only. They dressed as men and danced like men. Choir of men, led by Ignacio (? Summer Man) who acted in general as dance director.

The last half of the last dance was performed in front of one of the kivas. The men sat together in a group and talked at the dancers who enjoyed it, excepting some of the younger ones who seemed very disconcerted, a real comedy.

⁴⁰² Notes by Lila Law. Mrs. Law calls this Basket dance; but it corresponds to the accounts not of various Basket dances but of the *ti'di* or the *qwæ* dance. It is tempting to surmise that there is some women's organization back of this women's dance, which suggests the burlesqueing by women in the Mamzrau organization of the Hopi.

March 9. Dance by women in war regalia. Lively movement. Leather suits and feather headdresses. Faces painted. More fun than day previous.

First thunder showers of the year. About 3 P.M. So violent a hailstorm that the dancing was postponed to evening.

Santa Clara

Puwære.—This is a two-day initiation war dance which is performed nowadays only at Santa Clara, where it is in charge of the women *tse'oke*. The four men who dance are appointed by the *tse'oke kwiyo*, war society old woman. Women dress as men, and men as women, some of them making up as pregnant women, and these sing, "Some of those boys made me pregnant." The men in masquerade do women's work, fetching water, baking bread outdoors in the ovens on street or roof, and carrying dinner to the dancers.⁴⁰³ The women masqueraders with cloths in their hands to clean the ovens go from door to door and sing, "I am scared, let's run away." People give them bread. "You are lazy. You don't bring us wood, you don't hunt deer, you bring nothing to us," the men say to the women. In the dance, women sing for the men. They sing *kapohenu* and refer to earrings of cotton, full of vermin from the hair. Other women carry baskets of bread on their head, and throw it, saying, "My *pare* (elder brother or sister) is dancing and I throw this bread." As a matter of fact they throw other things, too, "corn, dishes, everything." According to the Santa Clara tale of how *puwære* is danced as a Scalp dance four days after the return of the warrior women bringing scalps, the women send word to their parents to prepare food in abundance to throw.⁴⁰⁴

Puwære is performed in November, but only when there are girls to initiate. It was performed in November, 1923,

⁴⁰³ The war dances of the Cheyenne were in charge of the "half women-half men."

⁴⁰⁴ The implicit idea is or was to offer food to the scalp.

after an interval of about fifteen years, the girl babies that had been "given to them" having grown up and being just old enough to dance.

San Juan

Pu'wøre is not danced at San Juan, all who knew it are dead.⁴⁰⁵ A man of sixty had never seen it; but when he was younger and serving as an Outside chief, an old man undertook to revive the ceremonial. They were to stay in one night, said the old man. " 'I will sing that song for you,' said the old man. 'A man who knew it sang it for me, I got it, too. I will do the song as it goes,' he said. 'Tomorrow night we must try to sing this song. I wonder whether we could get it.' So they called them the next night and all came in. Then the men who came in began to sing a different song, and they said to the old man that he was putting in his own words. He got mad. 'If you know better than I know, take it,' said the old man. Afterwards he died. They lost the dance." This episode occurred in 1904.

According to this same informant *pu'wøre* was a winter dance. There were four women. They bathed, they took their *kayé* (fetiches) and stayed by themselves, not touching men for four days. They asked their *kayé* not to let them get tired dancing. The women dancers invited each a man dance partner. The dance was not for rain but for the year to be fruitful ("to have a good year") in horses, in cattle, in children, in crops, too, according to a San Juan folk-tale. Summer chief plans to have *pu'wøre*, to the satisfaction of the men who say, "That is a good dance you have in mind. We shall have lots of fruit, lots of corn, lots of everything we have planted."

Pu'wøre at San Juan had the same burlesque features it has today at Santa Clara, as the following account appears to indicate.

⁴⁰⁵ According to a San Juan man, "At Santa Clara only two women know it. At Jemez they have lost it."

They used to play when women would dress as men and get wood and bring it on their back to the *te'e* (kiva), and ask *akonotoya* (the Outside chief) for a dance. He would give the pipe to the men in the kiva and whoever smoked had to dance. The men would dress as women. When a man saw his wife coming with wood he would say, '*Hewemboharahi!*^{405a} I have not cooked anything yet.' The men dressed as women would take the cooked food to the kiva. This is an account by a middle-aged woman who had never seen the "play."

For a bigger dance, the same but bigger, they stayed in retreat twelve days. Here, I take it, the scalp dance proper is referred to, the briefer ceremony corresponding to the *owinahaiye* or *hoinawa* of other towns.

San Ildefonso

Women dress as men, and there is the same exchange of *blague* as at Santa Clara. The women say they are going to get Santa Clara sweethearts. The men retort, "Why don't you go for them? We will get Santa Clara girls." *Puwægre* is or was danced after corn harvest.

San Juan, Tesuque, Nambé

In February-March there is a woman's burlesque dance at San Juan (*puka kwiyo share*), and at Tesuque (*kwiyo share*). Formerly a *puka pinan share* was held at Nambé in the summer. The Summer chief or Winter chief or Bear old man (*keh sendo*) might say to the *naiw'a kwiyo* or *puka kwiyo*, the chief of the woman's society, "Why don't you bring the *ohuwa*?" Then she would assemble in her house her group of women for a four day retreat, on the fourth day to dance outside—the "roots mother magic dance." That night the *ohuwa* came into the kiva.—I incline to think that all the foregoing women's dances are associated with the women's society, and that they are rain dances through the rain-making functions of the scalps.

^{405a} The stock exclamation of dismay or surprise translated as My goodness! or Oh my!

Ute dance

San Juan

Yuta share is a circle dance by men and women, which may be danced at any season. One boy with a choir of three was said to be performing *yuta share*, visiting from house to house, the night of December 26, 1927.

Santa Clara

Juta share may be danced Christmas night (presumably at other times, too).

Nambé

Yuta share is danced on Kings' day by three or four men, in front of the houses of the incoming officers and at night in every house.

Comanche

Tesuque

(December 27, 1925.) Twenty middle-aged men danced to one drum and their own singing. They wore cotton shirt, buckskin kilt, moccasins with socks, a one-sided war bonnet; and carried a bow with eagle feathers attached in the left hand; in the right, a gourd rattle. Face painted red above mouth, white below. One figure, carrying a larger bow than the others, would dance out in front of the line, or behind it—the "Captain," I surmise. They danced twice at each of the two afternoon appearances I saw—in front of the church, and further to the west in the plaza.

It was cold and windy and there were few lookers-on, but the dancing was very vigorous, in contrast to the performance of the same dance the morning following at Santa Clara.

Santa Clara

(December 28, 1925.) Late in the morning, ten boys, aged from sixteen to twenty-two, danced four times consecutively, in the regular four dance places of the town—at A, B, C, D

(see map 3), the line standing north and south at D, before the kiva, *bu'te*.

The dancers wore their ordinary clothes plus war bonnet of eagle or turkey feathers, tipped with downy feathers. They carried a gourd rattle in the right hand, a bow in the left. Downy feathers were attached to the bow-string, with stiff eagle feathers to the back.

The dancers' song and dance were not executed in a very lively way and few but children were out to look on. My guess is that these morning dances of Santa Clara are ritual aftermaths of kiva dancing the night before.

Navaho dance

P'angshare, Captive dance.—It is danced on Easter (*dia di gracias*), on the night of a wedding, and on Saturday nights when the Outside chiefs permit. The girls and boys like this dance, but it is a noisy dance, so at times the Outside chiefs "wont let them have it." There is one line of men, one line of girls, and again a single line of men and girls, the men putting their hands on the shoulders of the girls. One man sings to the drum, which the Mexicans call *tombé*. Mexicans join in this dance, which is danced at night in Little kiva or in connection with a wedding in a house. The men pay money to the drummer. This money may be acquired through making a capture of a girl or boy "who never dances." " 'Let's go and tie her,' they say. They put ribbons around her head. They take her to her mother. 'Do you know this girl?' they ask. 'Of course, she is my girl. What is it you want?' 'We want *p'angshare*.' Then the mother of the girl has to pay for a drummer for another dance." This is obviously a kind of ransom, and the dance captive represents the Navaho captive (*p'ang*) of former days, "like that old woman," said my informant, pointing to an old Navaho passing our window, old Seraphina, who had been married to a Mexican in Alcalde. Seraphina had been captured in childhood from the Navaho and brought





Matachina, San Juan.

up by the Mexicans as a slave. When the slaves were set free she was told that she might go back to the Navaho. But she did not go, she had forgotten the Navaho tongue, and how was she to find her people?

P'angshare is said to be an old Navaho dance, and to be danced in all the Tewa towns, except Tesuque, also in Taos.

Wensabe (Navaho) *share*.—This is the so-called Navaho dance, familiar throughout the pueblos, in which the dancers represent Navahos. Navaho dance was performed at San Juan as a night domiciliary dance, on December 26, 1927.

Mexican dance

San Juan

Matachina is danced on Christmas day, by ten men, five on a side, and in the middle, one girl, about twelve years old, and a man called *monanka* (Mexican word). The men carry sticks.⁴⁰⁶ There is a bull (*toro*) mask who "leads the men from one side to the other." The little girl waves a handkerchief at the "bull." After that they kill the bull.⁴⁰⁷ [Obviously *matachina* is a bull fight burlesque.] The *tsapiyo*, called on this occasion *abuelos* (Mexican grandfathers) are out, to show the little girl what to do, how to play. These "grandfathers" are appointed by the governor. Two Mexicans from Alcalde play violins. The dancers use Big kiva. (See pls. 35, 36, 37.)

At Santa Clara *matachina* is referred to as *Poseyemu bu share*, Poseyemu⁴⁰⁸ his dance, said a San Juan woman, adding that this mode of reference was not in vogue at San Juan. At Nambé, however, it was said that Poseyemu had brought *matachina* to San Juan where the Mexicans of Alcalde had copied it.

⁴⁰⁶ See Dumarest, fig. 23.

⁴⁰⁷ A new hide is used each year, i.e., there is no fetich quality to the figure as at Jemez. Cf. Dumarest, 184.

⁴⁰⁸ See p. 276. Also Dumarest, 186.

Matachina Danced by Mexicans at Alcalde, December 27-28, 1925.—On December 27 there were performances in Alcalde which I did not see. In the evening there were bonfires in the streets. A shrine was carried in procession, the Penitente chanters marching alongside, and the *matachina* dancers in front. Guns were shot off. The procession withdrew into the church.

The afternoon of December 28 there was a complete performance of the dance in the court of the ranch house. There were ten boy dancers or *matachina*; the *monarca*; a little girl of six, the *malinche*; a little boy of four, the *toro* or bull; the *abuelo* or grandfather, who wore an unpainted leather mask or hood covering the entire head, with slits for eye-holes; and the *abuela* or grandmother, also a man, who on this occasion wore no mask. He was in overalls. *Abuelo* wore ordinary coat and trousers, but carried a wagon whip. *Abuela* was generally in charge, leading the *toro* by a rope fastened to the sheep horns of his cap, or seeing to it that the *malinche* kept up her dance behind him. The little girl took short quick steps like an Indian woman dancer. She was dressed in a white satin frock with a wreath of white flowers in her hair.

The ten *matachina* danced quadrille-like figures, forming for the most part in two opposite lines, and taking European dance steps to the music of violin, guitar, and drum. There was no singing. The boys wore their ordinary clothes overlaid with silk kerchiefs, one around waist with ribbons, one over shoulders with ribbons. Headdress of artificial flowers on a metal frame, from which fell a bang of jet beads over the eyes; a silk kerchief around the neck was brought up over the mouth, cowboy style, so that between jet bang and kerchief little of the face was seen.

The *monarca* who was gotten up like the *matachina*, sometimes danced with them, sometimes sat in a chair at the head of and between the lines. In one episode the *abuelo* was led up to touch his whip to the outstretched foot of the seated



Matachina, San Juan



Matachina, San Juan, December 25, 1927.

monarca. The meaning of this was unknown to Tranquilino, my Mexican informant, who thought of the *malinche* as the sister of the *monarca*. (The *monarca* was never called Montezuma.)⁴⁰⁹

In another episode the *malinche* waved a kerchief at the "bull" who began to butt vigorously at *abuelo*. *Abuelo* fell over, then the "bull" stretches out as if dead and *abuelo* jumps up and quarters him with his whip. At other times *abuelo* would fasten the "bull" by his rope to a tree or to the leg of a chair. Tranquilino thinks of the performance as a whole as a mock bull-fight, an interpretation which is not borne out by comparative data from Mexico.

Matachina at San Juan, December 24-25, 1927: Procession of the Saints.—Early in the afternoon I heard that the dancers had come out, and at 2:40 p.m. I found them concluding their first dance in Town court. From here they walked to Fish town court and at the east end repeated the performance. They formed in two rows facing east, the two Mexican players of violin and guitar being seated at the east end, a San Juan drummer standing alongside, and next to him the little boy "bull" whose back was covered with a complete hide, including horns and tail. The boy carried two sticks or canes to bend over on, like animal impersonators in the game animal dances. The *monanka* stood between the rows of dancers, with the little girl dancer behind him. She was about ten, with short brown hair and a light skin, heavily powdered, a half breed. A yellow cotton dress, with wide sash, a handkerchief pinned in front; a wreath of white artificial flowers, white woollen gloves, high, wrapped moccasins. Sometimes she danced arms akimbo, but mostly with arms crossed in front, taking small Indian-like steps, dancing very soberly, surely, and unperturbedly.

⁴⁰⁹ The Indians tell Tranquilino that morning and night they stand waiting for Montezuma, their god. And this was the only association with the name of Montezuma that Tranquilino had. At Taos the Indians tell the whites that Montezuma had bidden them to dance *matachina* in his honor against his return.

In the first dance figure, each *matachina* revolves where he stands, first in one circuit, then in the other, taking European dance steps and moving his three-prong stick, *matachina ma* or hand, fan-wise, in front of himself. As I watched this languid motion it occurred to me that the painted stick might have been a substitute for a fan.

In the second figure, the *matachina* kneel on both knees, each vis-à-vis couple taking the position in turn. The *monanka* sits in a chair at the west end. To the *malinche* he gives his stick and his kerchief covered rattle. She proceeds to dance alone, weaving in and out of the kneeling figures. She returns the stick and rattle to the *monanka*, making passes with them which might have been the sign of the cross or moving the objects in the directions. In the third and final figure there is a variety of quadrille-like changes of position by the *matachina*, the *monanka* weaving in and out of them with the *malinche* dancing closely at his heels.

Meanwhile the *abuelos* have been valeting the dancers, straightening out displaced streamers, or picking up pebbles from where the dancers are to kneel. At the close of the third figure the "bull" makes a dash at one of the *abuelos* who falls as if gored. A gun is shot off by somebody behind the musicians, and the bull drops dead. Then the other *abuelo* goes through the motions with his whip of quartering the bull. Throughout the performance an Outside chief has checked the crowd of lookers-on. Two or three old men have stood on the outskirts of the dance group. Now one of the old men speaks to the musicians bidding them accompany the dancers for dinner to the house which is labeled in large letters "Governor of San Juan."

Music and dance figures are much the same as in the Mexican performance at Alcalde; but the steps are executed with much greater spirit and precision or rhythm. In fact the rhythm is so much more marked that the steps seem almost more Indian than European. Moreover the feet are placed



a

Matachina at Cochiti. Christmastide, 1925. Note the Grandfathers and the *malinche*.



b

Matachina at Cochiti.

on the ground, in a way I can only call indefinitely Indian fashion, more deliberately and circumspectly, with more staccato than in the slip-shod, gliding Mexican motions. The costuming of the San Juan *matachina* is also unlike as well as like the Alcalde *matachina*. The face is similarly hidden by fringe of jet to the nose and silk kerchief to the mouth. But the headdress, excepting the *monanka*'s which was of two metal hoops, looks like a bishop's cap, with small gilt or silver crosses pinned in front, and on each side an eagle feather. (See pl. 36.) The eagle wing or tail feathers were tipped with downy feathers except in two cases, in which tiny American flags were substituted—cross, eagle feather, and flag, the threefold culture of the Pueblo! Then the San Juan dancers wore beaded cloth trousers, beaded moccasins, and beaded arm bands, in Oklahoma dance style. A belt of bells. As at Alcalde a rattle covered with silk kerchief in right hand, and in left the *matachina* stick. The *abuelos* wore ordinary store clothes and shoes, and each a large mask of hide, with nose and ear flaps, the back and top showing a fringed seam. On the side of one mask were painted a horse and a five-pointed star. "Merry Christmas," and some other words were scrawled on each mask. Each carried a thong whip. Each would call out in falsetto.

Procession of the Saints

About five in the afternoon there is a church service, and after it the *santos* are carried out. Each of the three is carried by four townswomen, the little figure being set on a little stretcher. Over all is a panoply, a square cotton cloth fastened at each corner to a pole held by a townsman. Behind the saints walk the choir of Indians and Mexicans, singing in Latin. In front of all a cross is carried by a middle-aged, short-haired townsman in riding boots. As the procession leaves the Churchyard it is met by the *matachina*, dancing towards it from Fish town court. The *monanka* takes very lively steps in front of the saints and of the little *malinche* who now walks just

ahead of the saints. To one side walk the bull impersonator and the impersonators of the *abuelos*, without bull horns or masks. As the procession starts eastward in Town court the little bonfires or "*luminarios*" (*ko'tsihte*, light cut) of criss-cross pine sticks set in the graveyard and on either side of the route are all aflame. These *bispera* or vesper lights are for "our blessed Mother." Formerly at San Juan they were lit for nine nights preceding Christmas.

The procession halts several times, for more lively dancing by the *matachina*. One halting place is at the usual dance place in front of Little kiva. Westward through Fish town court they walk and sing and dance, back to the churchyard where the *matachina* perform a final figure before the saints are carried into the church.

On Christmas day the *matachina* was also danced, and not only this year at San Juan, but at Taos, where it is danced on alternate years on three days, December 24-26, and where there is also a procession of the saints, and at San Ildefonso where there is no rule about dancing *matachina* at Christmas, and at Tesuque where "because they do not like music" [stringed or Mexican], it was danced only to the drum.⁴¹⁰

Miscellaneous Dances

San Ildefonso

Pingötsö.—Dance by men and two women, on New Year's day, outside. Turquoise kiva is used.

Santa Clara

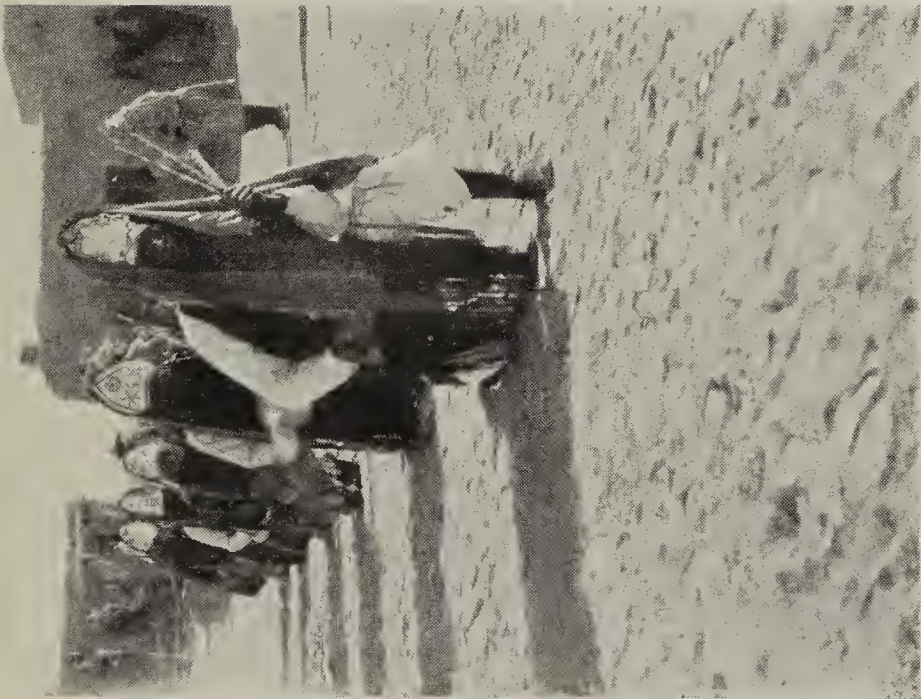
Pipe dance, S'ako share.—Pipe, i.e., long stone-pipe dance is from Santo Domingo. Two women and two men dance. The pipe is carried by a woman and when the singing begins the pipe is moved from side to side. The dance may be performed at any time. It has not been danced within the last two years.

⁴¹⁰ See pls. 38, 39 for *matachina* at Cochiti.



b

Matachina dancer and his son.



a

Matachina, Cochiti. Note the characteristic three-pronged stick; also the Grandfather in the background.

Santa Clara⁴¹¹

Dog dance, tse' share.—Kings' day, (January 6, 1926.) Two couples, a man and a girl: the girl holding the man by a rope fastened to his belt. The man nude, body painted yellow with large black or white spots. The girl in her usual clothes. The couples danced in front of certain houses in front of which food was placed on the ground. The stunt seemed to be for the "dogs" to get the food in their mouth even though the girls were pulling them back, which aroused much amusement. After the food was captured, it was placed in a bag by one of the choir. To their singing there was also dancing by the two men in leash.

Nambé

Formerly, Dog dance was performed on Easter Sunday. The dog impersonator was painted, including his hair which was gathered on top of his head. He bit at people coming near him. The woman holding him in leash would say, "This dog is hungry." People brought him food. The performance was to make happy our Lord on the cross.⁴¹² As he suffered, the dog also suffered, from hunger. The bowls of food people took out to the plaza for the dog were also intended for the dead (*powaha*) and were subsequently carried out to a field and thrown for the dead. The offerer was not to look back whatever noises he might hear, for the noises were made by the dead.

⁴¹¹ Notes by Lila Law. This dance is performed in Taos, sometimes on the Fourth of July in Taos de Fernandez. It was performed by Picuris dancers at Santa Fé in 1927. In a bulletin of the Santa Fé museum the dance is called Tanoan Peace dance and is elaborately interpreted. There is a reminiscence of the dance at Zuñi in *watempla* dance incident where a girl holds a "wild animal" in leash.

⁴¹² This is the only reference to the Crucifixion I ever heard from a Pueblo. The crucifixion story never "took." Other references to Easter observance come from Mexicanized Nambé: "We should go to Confession on *pimboa herendi* (climbing up—ascension) morning, when the *Senor* goes up to the sky and sees whether we are good or not. From Wednesday to Sunday we should not hammer anything lest we pound on our Lord (*Senor*), nor should we chop wood, nor eat meat. We should go barefoot, lest we step hard on our Lord."

Santa Clara

Willow behind dance, yan pangeshare.—(December 25, 1927.) After the Eagle dance, from the same house as that used by those dancers, house 47, came out the Rainbow dancers, as they were named to a white—three men alternating with three women, with a choir of five drummers and singers and behind them, wearing the Plains Indian war bonnet, four old men and two little boys. Each male dancer carried a bow-shaped willow stick, unpainted and spaced with pendant eagle wing or tail feathers. A fan of ten eagle feathers at the back of the neck. Face painted yellow with various designs of lines and dots in other colors; white on shoulders and chest, the rest of the body blackened. Kilt of buckskin, with green belt and girdle of red yarn; beaded moccasins. The women wore the dark *manta*, two of them, the third, a Hopi ceremonial blanket dress. On their back, between the shoulders, a plaque set around with red yarn and eagle feathers. A large spot of red on each cheek; hair flowing; spruce twigs in each hand; wrapped moccasins.

The first figure was stepping sidewise in line, men and women alternating. In the second figure the men used their hoop as if it were a skipping rope, jumping through it forward and backward, twice. The third figure consisted of quadrille-like manouvers. The set danced first at C, then at D, then on the south side of the town in front of a house towards the east not indicated on the map. They concluded with a dance in front of their own house into which they withdrew. The afternoon appearances I did not see.

A guard and three old men accompanied the dancers.

Benina of Nambé referred to the dance as an old time Tewa dance, and Benina's San Juan husband said it was a *kachina* (*oxuwah*) dance performed at San Juan, in the spring when the willows began to leaf out. I incline to think that some other dance was being referred to both by Benina and her husband; for later Benina opined that the Christmas Santa

Clara dance was new. At Santa Clara they are much given to the introduction of dance novelties.

GENERAL CURING CEREMONY

Nambé (fragment)

At a time of general sickness, a curing or witch-finding ceremony will be held. The women are told to grind corn, some to grind white corn, others blue corn, some red corn.

Some of the *keh* (Bear, i.e., medicine men) leave the ceremonial room where the people have assembled, to find the witches. With them go two Outside chiefs to see where they go,⁴¹³ whether into a lake or into the sky. The *keh* who remain behind look into their medicine bowl to follow the progress of those who have gone out in pursuit of the witches. They may see the pursuers in California or Colorado or in the sky or underground. Within the chamber the *keh* will suck out from persons present what has been sent into them by the witches. To do this the *keh* have turned into real bears by putting a certain plant medicine into their mouth. They are wearing bear paws. To return to the witch pursuit, it is the smartest *keh* who will catch the witch, who is likely to run into the graveyard; to show that it is there he would bring all the people. The witch-catcher will bring the witch into the ceremonial room, a figure about two feet high which may be male or female, half animal or half bird, with two faces, front and back. The figure is seated on the point of a yucca stick, which has been its horse. The figure is borne around the room four times, the people spitting on it. Then with the flint (*tsiuwanutsih*, lightning flint) they cut open the figure and from its stomach take out the bits of cloth which the witch had got from the clothes of all who were to be rendered sick. Sometimes the witch figure is wearing a dress of the same

⁴¹³ See pp. . 303-304.

goods as that of a patient. The *keh* will say to the patient, "See, you were not careful. She is wearing your dress." The stomach contents (the figure, too?) are burned on the fire in the ceremonial room. The following day the *keh* carries the ashes somewhere to the west (in which direction evil is always discarded) and so takes away all the sickness. . . . In conclusion the Outside chiefs bring in the baskets of meal. The witch-catcher will receive the two large baskets of white and of blue corn meal.

The last general curing ceremony was held in November, 1917, during the influenza epidemic. Four Bear men came from Tesuque to assist the three Bear men in Nambé.

CURING INITIATION OF THE KOSSA OF SANTA CLARA AND NAMBÉ

In 1922 a sick girl in Santa Clara—Tsiowana muhete (lightning moving) or Sofia Naranjo—told her parents she wanted to be cured by the *kossa*. So, after her mother had cried about it,⁴¹⁴ her father took some corn meal and a cigarette to *kossa sendo* who then went to Nambé to notify the Tewa *kossa* there that they were to come to Santa Clara to give water (*poku*) to the sick girl. They gave her water to drink from their medicine bowl. All, including the girl, went to Nambé, and thence all the *kossa*, excepting *kossa sendo* who stayed with the girl, went to *Katepokwinge*. With them went also an Outside chief. Here, in the lake, each *kossa* was tied by a belt and by the others dipped four times into the lake which is very deep. Then they returned towards Nambé bringing with them from the lake the *ohuwa*. The Outside chief went on ahead, to tell *kossa sendo* they were coming. The sick girl had bathed and wearing one dress (i.e., with no cotton slip under the *manta*), barefoot and with hair flowing was in the plaza, where the *pufona ohuwa* cured her by taking out from

⁴¹⁴ As a grave and exacting enterprise that anybody would cry over.

her body with his bear paws⁴¹⁵ what had been sent into it to make her sick. From a corn stalk the *kossa* sprinkled her with water.

The *kossa* made a circle of ashes in which they put what was taken out from her and with pine (*ko'si*) from the mountain they burned it up. In this fire even a stone could be reduced to ashes. The ashes were blown by the *kossa* to *tapayachiamu* to carry off, and he was asked "not to make her sick again." In spite of these words I am not certain that it was the tutelary spirit of the *kossa* who was supposed to have sent the sickness. Possibly Benina meant to say that *tapayachiamu* was asked not to let the patient be made sick again.

INSTALLATION CEREMONY OF THE WINTER MEN OF NAMBÉ AT TESUQUE

The following notes on the last night, the public night of the twelve-day ceremony, which was held about 1917, supplement the account given on pp. 116-7. After the Winter people have gone into their kiva, from the altar (Fig. 13) in the room of the Winter chief, where the retreat was held, there was carried to the kiva the cactus *saiya* (grandmother) of the Winter chief. The cactus will not prick the carrier for he is an ice-man. Within the kiva the Winter Men form a circle and the cactus fetich is passed from one to another, to song. Were it dropped, misfortune would follow. The Winter Men leave the kiva. On their return the cactus is smaller; again they form a circle and pass the cactus around. At this time is made the *sakewe* or dough which is given to the women against burns. The boiling water is stirred, we recall, by the Winter Men with their fingers, not burning them since they are ice-men. Again they leave the kiva, to return the third time. This time they pass their hands through fire, not burning them. The people call out *sewai* (man act like)! *sewai!* and the women cry. This time the cactus which has grown still smaller

⁴¹⁵ The same practice is carried out at Isleta and no doubt elsewhere.

has been carried in by the initiate who hands it to that one of the Winter Men he has selected to be his godfather (*pokwita*). On this occasion, there being two initiates, two godfathers

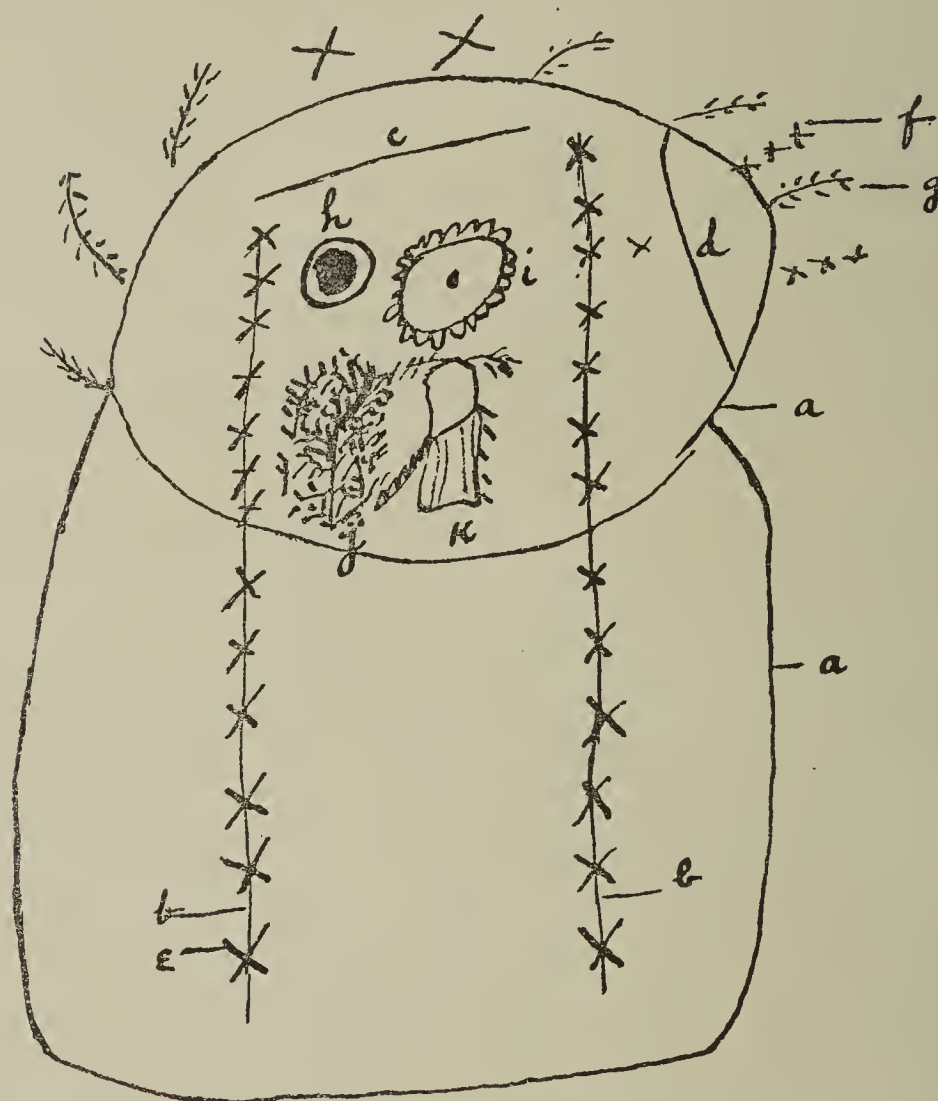


Fig. 13. Altar at installation of Winter chief, Tesuque. a, line of meal and pollen representing the pueblo (*owi*); b, road of meal and pollen; c, line of meal and pollen for the Winter Men to sit; d, line of meal and pollen for the initiate to sit; e, two pieces of jucca blade tied together, representing track of chaparral cock, stepping places; f, chaparral cock track painted on wall; g, parrot-feather hung on wall; h, meal basket; i, medicine bowl of stone to represent ice; j, cactus grandmother; k, *oyika*, ice mother, with downy feathers on head and girt with parrot tail and chaparral cock feathers.

were chosen. The two initiates and the two godfathers formed a circle and passed the cactus from hand to hand. They leave the kiva. On their fourth and final return the godfathers

carry the cactus. With the initiates again they dance with it until it grows smaller and smaller and at last is seen to disappear. She has gone back to whence they brought her.

Now when it is near dawn, the kachina arrive. In their presence the Winter chief hands to the initiate that which is to be his *oyika* (ice mother), a white stone representing ice.

After the return of the people to their houses the wife of the godfather goes to the house of the initiate to invite his household to eat in her house. Then she gives them presents—a deerskin was given to the initiate, a basket to his mother, who gave a return invitation to the wife of the godfather to come and eat. In turn she was given a basket of wafer-bread, moccasins, and a belt. This day, all day long the Summer people are invited to eat in the houses of the Winter people.

Grandmother Cactus is also fed where she grows. The last time a Winter chief was installed at Nambé itself, the story goes, when on the twelfth morning the people went out to *saiya bi owinge* (grandmother her town) which is a little way east of Nambé, to feed her, there they saw her growing as a big, beautiful, fresh plant.

Since then, early in the morning of San Francisco day, people go out to this place, carrying bits of all they have prepared for the feast, also prayer-meal, to feed the Grandmother. They take back with them some of the grass which grows here called *po'yika*, grass used to sweep with outdoors, to place where they keep their bread, so the bread will increase no matter how much they give away at the feast.

SPRING IRRIGATION

San Juan

Towards the close of February the chiefs meet at the governor's house "to talk about the day for cleaning the ditch." Late in the afternoon before the day decided on, the Crier (*tykændi*) goes about town calling out the order. He starts at the corner of Little kiva, going north, then goes

west, down *pa'awebu'pinge* or the north plaza. The chiefs are exempt from irrigation work, likewise the *pikales*. On the first day, the women of the houses in the south parts of town (houses 1-19, 23-48) supply food to the workers, on the second day food is supplied by the women of the northern houses (houses 20-23, 49-117). The women are counted when they bring the food, and if anyone delays, a *pikal* goes to her house. If the woman continues to delay she has to go to the house of the governor, who "scolds" her.

Neither dance nor race is associated, I was told, with this work of irrigation. Before the water is let into the ditch, Winter Man and Summer Man go together to the ditch to sing, "what, we don't know," said Rosita. A man better informed said they deposited in the ditch, before the water was let in, turkey feathers, the black dirt called *poshu*, and corn meal, making the road through the middle of the ditch for Water Serpent (*avanyu*) "so he would come fast with water." At Nambé it was said that the Summer Man and Winter Man walked with the fresh current, dropping the feathers from their bundles on the water.

CEREMONIAL SHINNY, *pu'nabeketa'me*⁴¹⁶

San Juan

The day Winter chief gives over the people to Summer chief, "that day they make their plants," i.e., women bring their seeds to Summer chief. From every house a woman brings a basket of seeds to leave in the house of Summer chief for three or four days. Summer chief sprinkles the baskets with medicine. From each basket he takes a few seeds and with the seeds stuffs a buckskin-covered ball—*poæ'toyo bi punabe*, Summer chief his ball. Outside chief⁴¹⁷ collects the

⁴¹⁶ *Punabe*, ball, *keta'me*, fall down from above, referring probably to dropping the ball from the roof, as is done by the Summer chief to start the play. See below *Pelota de semilla* (seeds) is the Mexican term.

⁴¹⁷ The *towa'e*, whom the Outside chiefs represent, play shinny. See pp. 273, 248.

boys and men. Four times in anti-sunwise circuit they play around the town,⁴¹⁸ then they go to the gardens and fields, the men only,—“We don’t go,” said a woman. But as the men go playing around the town, women run out and catch the ball as it passes their house; they take it into the house and then throw it out again, with bread, apples, etc.

San Ildefonso

Punombé is played, before planting, and, presumably ceremonially. The Outside chief is in charge. Winter people play against Summer people, the Winter players hitting the ball to the south, towards the mesa called *shumano*⁴¹⁹ which belongs to the Winter people, and the Summer players hitting to the north, towards *tyyo* (Black mesa), the mesa which belongs to the Summer people.

February 22-23, 1926.⁴²⁰ The game lasted two days until the seed-filled ball burst. At the start, it was said, the ball was tossed among the players, and he who secured it took it into his house, his family bringing out a lot of food to give away. Mrs. Law saw the conclusive performance in which the players formed a rectangle and, holding their sticks up in the air, moved about the plaza, to a drum and song. There was much merry-making.

Santa Clara

Pu'nambé is played, but, it is said, not ceremonially. The deer-hide ball is stuffed with rags only, not with seeds, and the game is played only in the town, not in the fields.

Nambé

Formerly the Town chiefs made two seed balls, one for the men to play around the fields, one for the women to play with-

⁴¹⁸ In a folk-tale the rival Corn girls play *punabe* four times around the house.

⁴¹⁹ The mesa on the east side of the Rio Grande, sloping down to the railroad bridge. In a folk-tale by the same informant *shuma* is assigned to the Summer people.

⁴²⁰ Notes by Lila Law.

in the pueblo. The Summer chief dropped the ball to start the game.

Tesuque

The game is played after ditch cleaning. The town chiefs send out word that in four days they are going to drop the ball and for the people to get ready. The people prepare presents of meat, coffee, sugar, dishes, etc. On the fourth day everybody in the pueblo, including visitors—not whites who are excluded by the War captains—has to stand out in the plaza while the Summer chief, standing on a roof, throws down the ball. The man to get it takes it into his house and throws it into a corner where the woman of the house sprinkles it with meal. While she is doing this, the others in the household throw the presents out to the people. These acts are repeated until the ball has been carried into every house. Then it is taken out into the fields where the men play with it until it bursts, sometimes for one day, sometimes longer, perhaps a week. They play east and west sides. The first day the married men play against the bachelors, afterwards there is no particular alignment. After the men have taken out their seed-filled ball, the women play in the plaza with theirs which is stuffed with deer hair. They also play east and west, without particular alignment, and until their ball bursts. The woman whose clip bursts the ball may expect the kachina to bring her game (*pokano*).

Tsiupupina (shoots magic)

Tesuque

Tsiupupina, shoots magic, is a six days' ceremony held in March by the (?) Winter people. From its name⁴²¹ and some general references I inferred ritual for predicting season or crops, ritual such as the bean planting in connection with the

⁴²¹ *Tsih*, knife; *pu*, root—*tsiupu*, shoot; *pina*, magic.

powamu spring ceremony of the Hopi; but of this my Nambé informant appeared to know nothing.

On the first day men bring in wood for the Summer chief; on the second day for the Winter chief; on the third day, for the governor. During this time in the house of the Winter chief they eat corn without salt; in that of the Summer chief, they eat *a'aga*, boiled meal of sprouted wheat; at the governor's, meat and chili. On the third day the altar is placed, and they work on "seeds" and "feathers," i.e., make prayer-feathers. On the fourth night the Winter kachina come, to the kiva of the Winter people who alone are present. On the fifth night the Summer kachina come, presumably to the kiva of the Summer people. On the sixth day they dance outside, Summer and Winter peoples together, *tsiupure share*, which is a dance like the Turtle dance of San Juan, i.e., a maskless kachina dance. The *kwirano* and the *kossa* are out.

CEREMONIAL RACING

San Juan

On San Juan's day, in alternate years, a relay race is run. "One year they dance *frqse share*, one year they race."

There is a preliminary race ritual by the *pu'fona* of apparently exorcising character. Four *pu'fona* of whom two are Summer men, and the others Winter men, meet in the house of their chief (house 5) and go thence, the two Summer *pu'fona* to Little kiva, where the Summer runners are assembled, and the two Winter *pu'fona* to Big kiva, where the Winter runners are assembled. From the kivas with their eagle feathers in their hands the *pu'fona* go to the race-track, where they perform the rite of *apofere*, striking one feather against the other (in slashing motion) and saying *apofere!* a term descriptive of how "the rain clears up all the dust in the air, taking it away." These *pu'fona* are the first to run.

The two sets of runners, Summer and Winter, group themselves around their respective standards which are

carried by Summer Man and by Winter Man. The Summer people, now referred to as *akompiwi*ⁱ (*akompi*, south),⁴²² stand at the west end of the race course (*æpoge*, see map 2).⁴²³ Their standard is red. The Winter people or *pimpiwi*ⁱ (*pimpi*, north) stand at the east end.⁴²⁴ Their standard is white. In each case the pole is white with a fox skin at the top, beside the flag. *Pimpiwi*ⁱ are referred to as strong and manlike, *akompiwi*ⁱ as not strong and womanlike. The runners wear downy feathers in their hair, and ribbons. The hands of the runners and of the two chiefs are painted white. Otherwise the runners paint themselves according to individual fancy,—black, white, yellow, red, their face half red and half black or half yellow and half white. Also, to be recognized, a runner may put white paint on his hair.

The race is called *kwæmwi*, rain standing (fall), i.e., the race is for rain.⁴²⁵

Santa Clara

Relay races are run (*dian'o*, they are going to have a race), and standards of red and of white are carried and placed, as at San Juan, west and east; but, as far as I could learn, the racing is not by moiety.⁴²⁶ The *papufona* go out to the course

⁴²² Possibly the references to south and north are to the stands of the runners, the Summer men standing to the south of the Winter men.

⁴²³ Harrington describes two race courses, both running north and south, on the east side of town. (Harrington, 2, 211).

⁴²⁴ About here, a little northwest of the graveyard, are two piles of stone, with one or two upright stones characteristic of a shrine. Pl. 40. These I found sprinkled with meal. Underneath lay loose turkey feathers. Cf. Harrington, 2, 211. These shrines are associated with the racing, I was told, not as I had assumed, with the graveyard. At the time of the race larger stones are brought here, at the close to be taken back by their guardians. Only the smaller stones are left *in situ*. I could not learn who took care of these stones.

⁴²⁵ As is racing elsewhere, except at Taos and Isleta where the relay race is said to be for the courses of Sun and Moon. At San Juan it was positively stated that racing was not associated with Sun and Moon. More recently, I learn from Nambé that the racing there *was* for those Spirits.

⁴²⁶ Due, presumably, to the political disturbance.



Shrine of the racers, and graveyard. San Juan.

an hour or so before the race to exorcise with their eagle feathers. The runners start from the east end.

San Ildefonso

There may be relay racing (*æ'i*) on San Antonio's day (June 13). Both Summer and Winter kivas are used. *Pufona* take no part, it is said.

Nowadays there is dancing on the Saint's day rather than racing "because not many boys now."

Nambé

About forty years ago there was a race course within the pueblo, on the west side, lying north and south (between the houses 14-15 and 16-17). More recently at *ta^asoge*, a place well outside of town on the north side, a course running east and west, was used.⁴²⁷

The race was of the relay type, and by moiety, the Winter people standing on the east side, the Summer people, on the west side. The Winter people always won, commented the informant of that moiety.

The race was held on the Saint's day, San Francisco day, October 4, unless on that day they had the Deer dance. The night of October 3, two *towaé* (War captains or Outside chiefs, *akonotoyo*) would go to *keh sendo* (Bear old man, i.e., chief of the *pufona* society), one taking him a cigarette, carried in the right hand, the other some meal, and say to him, "These we have brought you. We want your help. We want you to go and clean the road, so that nothing (amiss) may happen." At *wa^ari* (rise of the big star, *agoyosoyo*) two Bear men are sent by their chief to the race course with the two War captains. The Bear men have so much *pinan* (magic power), they can go underground, under water, or into the sky, removing whatever would make a runner fall.

They race for the Sun, Moon, Morning Star (*agoyosoyo*) and Evening Star, *tsexqkwiyo* (yellow fade old woman).

⁴²⁷ Cf. Harrington, 2, 362. *Ge*, over at.

HIDDEN BALL

The gambling game of hidden ball (Sp. *kañunte*, Tewa, *popoye'e*, *popo*, stick with hole at both ends, i.e., (?) cane, *ye'e*, play) was formerly played near the church, the night of All Souls',⁴²⁸ as well presumably as on other occasions. Nowadays it is not played at all,⁴²⁹ at San Juan or Santa Clara. It is played, on Sundays, at Tesuque.

In a San Juan folk-tale Ghost invites a youth to gamble with him, and the youth puts up two bundles, of beads and cloth. Instead of playing *popoye'e*, as Ghost proposes, they play at guessing the hand which holds the object, the hands held behind the back.

ALL SOULS' DAY

Nambé

Some old man in the family arranges the food offering for the dead. He sits in the middle of the floor, barefoot. The older members of the family—the younger, unmarried do not participate—hand him the food with their left hand, on his left side. He crumples it all up into a big pile from which he puts some crumbs in a cloth for each participator. Taking with him the straw broom or the poker (*pa'teree*), the old man goes out first. The others follow in single file, the last taking that one of the two implements the leader has not taken. They go to a field to the north, paying no attention to sounds heard behind them, sounds made by the dead (see p. 302). The line turns, facing the east. Everybody prays and from his left hand throws his food bundle backwards, i.e., to the west, as far as he can. Then with a little stick in the left hand everybody makes four parallels on the ground⁴³⁰ "so the dead will not come back and follow them." Again in single file they

⁴²⁸ As at Sia. (Parsons, 2, 91 ft. *)

⁴²⁹ We may note here that the leaf-ball game of Taos is not played at San Juan or southward.

⁴³⁰ Elsewhere these marks are made with the foot.

return to their house, the last to come being the first to go, or the leader of the line. Reaching the door of the house he leads the line around the house, anti-clockwise, four times, after the fourth circuit entering the house.

Before leaving the house each had taken a piece of charcoal and outside had marked on his left sole and on his left palm the cross-like track of the chaparral cock (*owi'*), so that the dead would not make him sick or do him any harm. The chaparral cock has magic (*pinan*). Each had also put a bit of charcoal under his tongue, which on the return to the house, he chews and then spits out, spitting several times. The leader goes to the windows and doors and spits and waves what he carries, broom or poker, in four anti-clockwise circuits (*ta'w'æ*). Similarly, the last in the line goes to the fireplace, spits and waves in circuit what he has been carrying. What is spat out is called medicine of the dead (*powohq wo'operi*, dead medicine spitting).

As everyone came into the house he has said to those inside *iwoanyine*, may you live long! a term which is constantly used in ritual.⁴³¹

⁴³¹ See pp. 66.

RITUAL

SHRINES, PRAYER-FEATHERS, RITUAL CIGARETTE, PRAYER-STICKS

San Juan

In the hills to the east of town there are several small piles of stones (*kayé*) which represent shrines or places where prayer meal is sprinkled and prayer said by the chiefs and other men. Loose feathers (referred to as *pe*, stick) may be offered in them also.⁴³² Only in one of these shrines, on the hill nearest to town, did I find any evidence of prayer meal. Here were also some downy feathers, sticking to the grass. The feathers are not placed under the stones, and so are readily blown away. The stones are various sizes, the larger ones of from one to two feet high, set on end. There is generally a white stone, and color rather than shape appears to be the principle of selection. There is no "petrified wood" as in Jemez shrines. In a gully off the first arroyo north of town is a little shrine of three upright stones and smaller stones and here under the stones were feathers—a bunch of turkey feathers, two duck feathers, a downy eagle feather, an oriole feather (pls. 41, 42a). Washed down from this shrine which is much used, I infer from the amount of prayer meal observed in it at several times, lay some turkey tail feathers, in a few cases two or three tied together (see fig. 14), and these were the only tied feathers⁴³³ I succeeded in finding in any Tewa shrine.

⁴³² See p. 18 for personal name, *kayepe*.

⁴³³ In a San Juan folk-tale, in preparing for the *pu'wære* dance, Summer chief says to the men he has summoned, "'Now we have to work, every one has to bring feathers of the summer birds'. . . . So they brought in their feathers and tied the feathers themselves, for the *oxuwah*. . . . Then they took the feathers out to the hills, so the *oxuwah* would help them.'" Again, in a Santa Clara tale, all night and day they work at tying feathers, the feathers the Parrots have given, in order to fasten the feathers to doors and windows and ladders. (The scene is Hopi, where feathers are actually thus tied.)



Shrine on north side of San Juan.

Neither at Santa Clara nor at San Juan was there any evidence of throwing feather offerings into the river. At San Juan, feather offerings are made to Water Serpent on the opening of the main irrigation ditch.⁴³⁴ And in a San Juan tale feathers are thrown into lakes for the *oxuwah*.

A San Juan informant referred to the function of prayer-feathers as being "like telephone," i.e., they carried the message



Fig. 14. Tied feathers from shrine on north side of San Juan.

to a distance; and in a tale *kəyotsanyotse* is described as holding the turkey feathers his boy friend has brought him, in his palms, to communicate with Lightning—"the feathers talk." In another San Juan tale, feathers are offered by the hunter

⁴³⁴ See p. 230.

to Spider, Buffalo, and Deer, and Spider grandmother says, "We *have* to help you, because you never forget us. Because you believe in us, and always take feathers out for us *which are our clothes*, we help you." Highly expressive of what to the Pueblo Indian is the compulsive character of the gift is

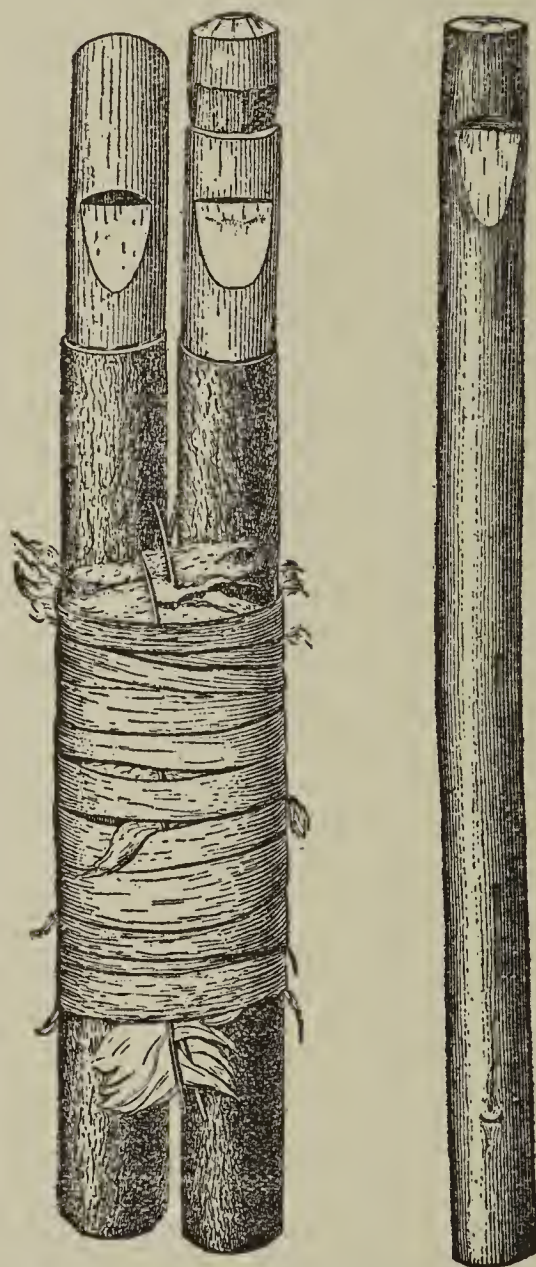
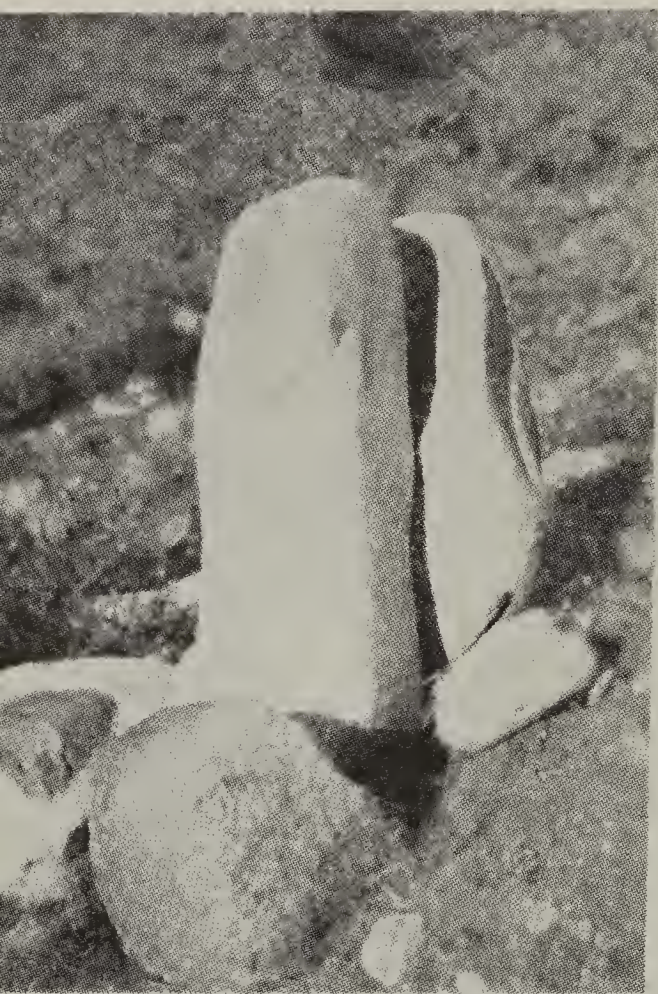


Fig. 15, a, b. Prayer-sticks from arroyo north of San Juan.

this reference, as well as significant of the widespread concept that feathers are a gift of clothes and adornment for the spirits.

In the aforesaid San Juan shrine north of town was found also a half burnt cane cigarette, with some tobacco still in it.



A



B



C

- a Shrine on north side of San Juan, with feather offering.
b Shrine west of San Juan in hills west of Rio Grande.
c Circular shrine of San Juan, west of Rio Grande.

Across the river to the west on the side of a little peak in that broken ground was found another shrine (pl. 38*b*). This was well sprinkled with coarse meal, to which some small animal, the tracks suggested, had been helping himself. Lying there still was the corn husk which had contained the meal before it was sprinkled on top of the upright stone. Not a sign here of a feather. Nor in the circular stone shrine on the flat fifty feet or so above. (Pl. 42*c*.) From this shrine a well-defined little stone trail leads out in the direction of the town. No doubt there was a shrine or shrines to the south, too, of town, although my hunt for it was in vain. Informants referred to the *kayé* as being on all four sides of

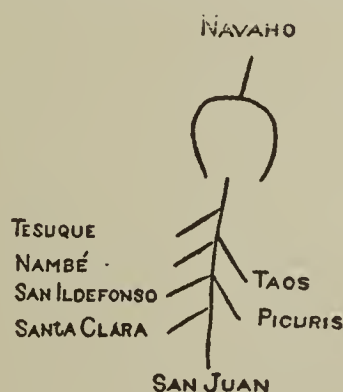


Fig. 16. Shrine of Mt. Tsikomo, showing ritual trails out.

Drawn by a townsman of San Juan.

town. In a side wash of the arroyo just north of San Juan I picked up at different times the double stick represented in fig. 15*a* and a single much weathered stick (fig. 15*b*) like the male stick in fig. 15*a*, but longer. These sticks are too weathered to show pigment. It is positively asserted that no kachina prayer-sticks are made, nevertheless my guess is that these weathered sticks are kachina sticks offered in connection with the slight kachina cult of San Juan. In view of the fact that no prayer-sticks have been found at Taos these sticks represent the northern Pueblo boundary of the distribution of prayer-sticks in the historic period.^{434*a*}

^{434*a*} That the Tewa of First Mesa have no distinctive prayer-sticks, non-Hopi in character, suggests an absence of prayer-sticks in early Tewa history. See Parsons 18: 12.

drought, *not* every summer, according to another. This man, a ceremonialist, refused to draw any representations of the sticks, but the mountain shrine with its trails outward he drew as represented in fig. 16. Formerly, when there was war with Navaho and Apache, the messengers with these prayer-sticks were exempt from attack. On these sticks all the chiefs or old men work together. And, asserted the ceremonialist, this is *the only time prayer-sticks are made*. See p. 150. However, from an ex-Outside chief comes the statement that miniature bows and arrows, which are generally classified as prayer-sticks, are deposited for the *towae* by the Outside chiefs. This ex-Outside chief opined that only the Summer chief made prayer-sticks.

In the folk-tales, *Uroto'sen^{do}*, Prayer-stick old man, figures;⁴³⁵ *uroto'* appears to be a more or less esoteric term for prayer-stick, although the term is also said to refer only to feathers, not to sticks. The fact that prayer-feathers are called *pe*, stick, may be significant of a former use of prayer-stick.

From Nambé now comes the translation of *uruto* as bent, i.e., crook prayer-stick, making of the term *uruto sendo* a homologue of the Keresan term *hadjamuni kaiuk*, bent prayer-stick, as applied to the Town chief and used similarly in Keresan folk tales. Actual prayer-sticks Benina had never heard of at Nambé.

Santa Clara

At Santa Clara I noted a large quantity of turkey feathers, the iridescent white banded feathers with a few tail feathers, deposited on the northwest outskirt of town, about a hundred yards from the river, on the south side. These feathers were kept from blowing away by a few small stones and by the spikes of the low shrub in which they were laid; they were not tied. A San Juan informant opined that these were the feathers

⁴³⁵ "He fixes up sticks, fastens feathers to sticks." (S.C.)

that had been worn in the *puwære* dance held a few weeks before at Santa Clara. But this was merely a guess, and, I think, a poor one. Another guess might be that the feathers had been deposited on All Souls' night, according to Cochiti practice. . . .⁴³⁶ On the ranch, while turkeys were being plucked, 'against Thanksgiving, visiting sacerdotalists from San Juan and San Ildefonso, of the Town chieftaincies, appropriated the banded feathers in masses, with eagerness. I was asked also for turkey down from breast and under wing. . . . In the hills just west of Santa Clara are several circular stone shrines of the common Pueblo type, the type figured for San Juan; but only one of these Santa Clara hill shrines seemed to be in use. Here were a number of loose turkey wing feathers and on the foot-high stone showing a faint resemblance to a human figure, which was set in the middle of the shrine, there were traces of corn meal. This circular stone shrine opened towards the east, towards the town, and leading to it was a well-worn trail. It was on the northernmost of the three hills, and far back from the eastern edge. On the edge of a trail south of town I observed on December 25, 1927, a fresh banded turkey feather, a single feather, held down by a stone. This points to the practice of individualistic prayer-feather offering, perhaps on starting a journey.

San Ildefonso

On top of the symmetrical peak⁴³⁷ on the southeast edge of San Ildefonso is a shrine of the stone pile type of San Juan. The erect stones I found plentifully sprinkled with meal, and tangled into the scrub next the stones was a bunch of downy blue bird feathers. Douglas notes ⁴³⁸ the presence of downy feathers in this shrine on the occasion of the Buffalo dance which was performed on January 22, 1914.

⁴³⁶ Cf. Dumarest, 172. December 25, 1927, more or less freshly deposited turkey feathers were lying in the same place.

⁴³⁷ See Harrington, 2, 308.

⁴³⁸ Douglas, 365.

The sometime⁴³⁹ boulder shrine on the western edge of Black Mesa or *tyyo* shows no evidence today of shrine use. It has been much dug around, no doubt by "treasure seekers."

Tesuque

There are two stone shrines on the hill range south and southeast of town. On the nearer point, the shrine is like the San Juan type, consisting of one whitish erect stone with smaller

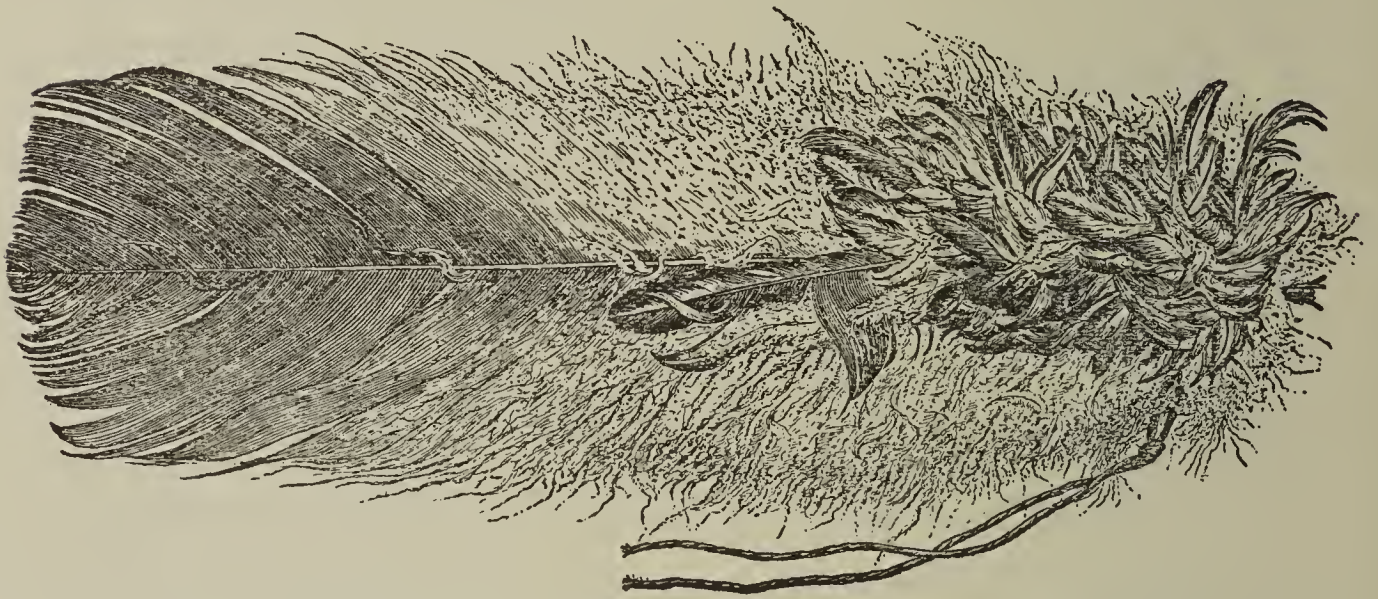


Fig. 17. Prayer feathers (note blue bird down) from shrine on hilltop southeast of Tesuque.

stones piled against it. Loose feathers were seen around or under the stones, some of them jay feathers. There were a dozen or more half-burnt cane cigarettes, but no sign of meal. The further shrine, which was on the highest point of the range, to the southeast,⁴⁴⁰ the trail to it well worn, was rudely circular, its wide opening towards the town to the northwest. In the center was a stone concretion barely suggestive of the human figure. Under small stones lay loose feathers and several bunches of tied feathers (Fig. 17). Some of these (Fig. 18) were so like those observed on the tips of the spruce trees in the Buffalo dance going on in town that it seems a safe

⁴³⁹ Harrington, 2, 297.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Harrington, 2, 389. "Bluebird Mountain," according to Harrington who describes the hill of the first shrine I have mentioned as the sacred hill.

inference they were offerings to Buffalo. The feathers are turkey, eagle, yellow bird, and jay. The grass which represents, no doubt, a food offering is *Sporobolus strictus* (Scribn.) There

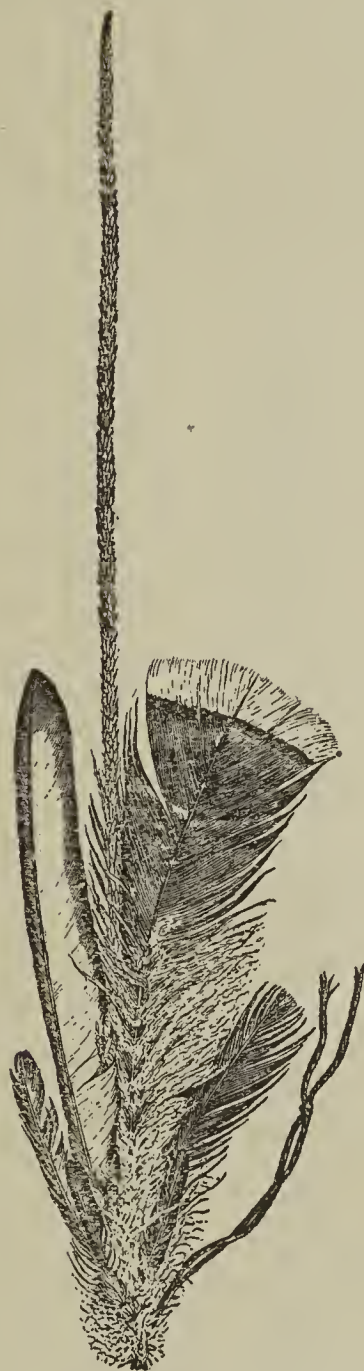


Fig. 18. Prayer feathers offering to Buffalo, Tesuque November 12, 1926.

were also several cane joints stoppered with small yellow bird feathers (Fig. 19).⁴⁴¹ Again no sign of meal in this shrine; but I noted a bit of turquoise,—a chip, not a bead.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Parsons, 3, 122 and figure 18. Possibly these are cigarettes of ritual petition. See p. 248.

Set in the altars of the Town chiefs and of Sandstorm wall woman is a crook prayer-stick called *w'æripe*, hit stick. It is eight inches, made of unpainted *pekeh* (stick hard) with eagle feathers pendant from the tip of the crook and spaced along the vertical part.

Nambé

There is in the middle of the plaza a flat stone where at dawn people will sprinkle meal. This shrine is called *nang-*

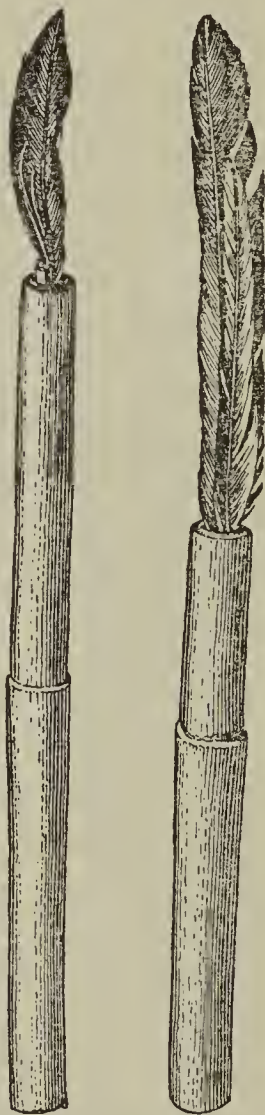


Fig. 19. Cigarette offering from shrine on hilltop southeast of Tesuque.

tsipupinge, sand navel middle. To this middle place applies the phrase *pinapukwo*, magic roots lying. Here, as in the "middle" of Keresan towns and of Jemez⁴⁴² are the spirit roots of the town. "If we keep up feeding the stones there, our

⁴⁴² Parsons, 3, 139.

pueblo will live forever." In the tale of "How the Blue Corn Girls Escape Flood and Found Nambé"⁴⁴³ the stones at this shrine represent Crook Prayer-stick old man, Shrivelled Corn old woman, the parents of the Blue Corn girls, and all their relations and, on top of them all, *kykaiye sendo*, Stone spirit old man. Again, in the tale of the doubting war captain⁴⁴⁴ the shrine is mentioned, the bears come out from the shrine which apparently has an underground connection with the lake called *samaiyo pokwinge*. The underground shrine in the kiva goes by the same name—*nangtsipupinge*.

Formerly in a hole on top of a hill the ceremonialists would bury a bundle of feathers together with a corn husk cigarette and meal. They took off their clothes before making the offering. Nowadays they just leave their feathers on the *kayé*, "That is why we don't have rain."

OFFERINGS OF MEAL, POLLEN, PIGMENT, AND TOBACCO

Coarse white⁴⁴⁵ corn meal (*k'æbowa*) is sprinkled outdoors every morning, by the chiefs or by anybody else. "Eat it," says the offerer. "Give me what I like," he may say.⁴⁴⁶ "White people have money in their pockets, make it come out." (S.I.) At the shrines (*kayé*), meal is given to Sun, Moon, Cloud beings (*oxuw'a*), and *kayé*. At the kachina dances of Santa Clara, meal is sprinkled on the kachina, as elsewhere. In a San Ildefonso folk-tale meat and wafer-bread are thrown, to the east, to the *oxuwah*, by Summer chief. Bits from the food of the household are fed to its stone fetiches at various times, but whether or not it is a daily practice I could not learn (S.I.) The masks which are kept by Winter chief and Summer chief are "fed" and so, of course, are their most precious mothers. In a San Juan folk-tale the Mother hanging in Summer chief's deserted house⁴⁴⁷ speaks to the miraculous child.

⁴⁴³ See pp. 284-289.

⁴⁴⁴ See pp. 303-304.

⁴⁴⁵ At Nambé, *hæboa*, is ground from corn of all colors.

⁴⁴⁶ See p. 265.

⁴⁴⁷ That Summer chief deserted her, too, shows a lack of verisimilitude, of a type that occurs in the European fairy tale.

Yakwiyo says, "Little boy, hurry up, take me down, I am very hungry." So the little boy got a stick and pulled the string fastened to his Mother and took her down. Then she said to him, "Go in and give me something to eat which is in the back room in a little basket. (That was corn meal.) Put me in the middle of the basket." So he took off all the cover from the Mother and put her in the middle of the basket.

In another San Juan folk-tale a traveller among the Snakes and the Ants gives them corn meal. To Parrot chief the same traveller gives pollen (*k'æ*). Meal is fed to Eagle sent to recover White Corn girl. In a Nambé tale meal is fed to Sheet Lightning lake where *oxuwah* live. In another tale pollen (*kætʉ*) as well as meal and downy eagle feathers are offered to Lightning.

A "black shiny dirt", (*poshy*, *pochashy*), which is found after rainfall,⁴⁴⁸ is also offered to Lightning, and to Water Serpent. Mixed with grease, this substance is used also to streak across the face, particularly by the kachina, and as a body pigment by dancers.⁴⁴⁹

Tobacco is an offering, presumably to the *oxuwah*. In a San Juan folk-tale tobacco is included in an offering of meal and down feathers, which is the offering to the *oxuwah*. A half-smoked cane cigarette was found with a feather offering near San Juan,⁴⁵⁰ and similar charred cigarettes were seen in a shrine near Tesuque. In another Tesuque shrine were feather-stoppered cane joints. (Fig. 19.)

In the aforesaid San Juan folk-tale arrows and shinny sticks are referred to as the proper offerings to the *towae*. But these were not included in the offerings of feathers, meal, and cigarettes made to the *towaé* when Nambé asked for their help against the Water Serpent.

⁴⁴⁸ "Applied to the black and sparkling fine sand seen on water washed sand surfaces along the banks or islets of the Rio Grande." (Harrington, 2, 582.)

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. pp. 68, 144, 187 193, 195, 198, 200, 202, 210.

⁴⁵⁰ See p. 240.

From the San Juan folk-tale of the Society that found the husband who was lost I infer that request for aid from Society or doctor is made, as elsewhere, with a gift of meal. In the tale the relatives carry meal and pollen and *poshy* to the old men who have power to find the lost. In fact, at Nambé, *hæboa* was referred to as "food for the *patowa*." One day some Nambé people who were starting to visit me told their mother, who would have been excessively apprehensive about this visit to an inquisitive white woman, that they were bound to see the *pufona* at San Juan. "Perhaps she did not believe us," remarked one of my prospective visitors, "because she did not see us carry corn meal with us."

CORN EAR FETICH: CACTUS FETICH

The corn ear completely kernelled is called *kukayee* or *yiaky* (mother corn). An ear of this kind is used, as noted, in naming an infant.⁴⁵¹

The corn ear fetich of the Summer chief is called *kutsæbukwipayokaga* (corn, shrivelled⁴⁵² woman, summer, (?)); that of Winter chief, *kutsæbukwioyikaga* (corn, shrivelled woman, ice, (?)). At Nambé, one "great mother" was referred to as *payoka oyika*. All these are large ears, completely kernelled. These supreme fetiches as well as other fetich ears are commonly referred to as *yiya* or *yakwiyo*, mother old woman. The "mother" of Blue Corn girl of warrior association is an ear of blue corn, fully kernelled, dressed with feathers and beads.

From the Emergence myth one may infer that the Mothers are hollowed out and filled with "good things," i.e., seeds, as are the corn fetiches elsewhere; and in the tale of the man who floats downstream to the Snakes a fetich is described which is made of clay with grains of corn inlaid.

⁴⁵¹ The branching or double-tipped ear has no ritual associations, as far as I could learn.

⁴⁵² *Tsebu*, wrinkled, creased (Harrington): In the folk-tales Shrivelled-Corn-old-woman (Nambé, *kutsimbukwiyo*) is the wife of Crook-prayer-stick-old-man.

In the ritual of the Winter people of Tesuque and Nambé there figures a cactus fetich, referred to as *saiya*, grandmother. (See fig. 13.) It is gathered afresh for the ceremony.

Santa Clara

The corn ear fetiches on altars are called *yiya* (*jiya*), mothers.

FETICHES IN STONE OR SHELL

San Juan

Stone images of Bear or Mountain Lion are called *kayé*, and are set out on the altar of the *pu'fona*. The small stone piles set on the hills where meal is sprinkled and feathers sometimes offered are also called *kayé*. These stones appear to me to be fetichistic in themselves rather than merely shrines. They are referred to as *kayé sendo* (old man) or *kayé e*, *kayé* little one. And people "ask from stones what they want."⁴⁵³ Women, lay women, also have *kayé* (probably animal images) in their charge. They keep their *kayé* in a little basket and feed them. These *kayé* are little and big, the big ones a foot long.

Arrow or spearheads are called *tsiguwénuku*, lightning stone, and they are supposed to fall from the sky. I was shown a spearhead that was used in the water in the naming ritual. It had passed down through the women of the family. (From the mother of Gen. I, 1.) " 'Do not sell it,' my mother said to me, 'so you live a long time,' she said to me." Such a lightning stone was used to cut open the belly of Lightning in a San Juan folk-tale, and such a stone is said to have been swung around the head by the Navaho when they wanted to cause storm. According to a Santa Clara informant the *pufona* use similarly shaped stones to beat together "like a drum," calling them *kotiti*. In the San Juan folk-tale of the little boy who is aided by the Mother and by

⁴⁵³ Cf. Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 88, n. 1.

Awl, the Mother directs him to put arrow-points in the basket with Awl. Inferably arrow-points are kept near fetiches at San Juan as elsewhere.⁴⁵⁴ In this tale of Awl Boy as in the Santa Clara variant and in still another tale, Awl figures as a fetich, more particularly a hunt fetich. It is made from lion bone, and Lion, as we know, is the hunter *par excellence*.

The woman who showed me her family lightning-stone was also possessed of a large olivella shell (*tinini*), which was similarly used in native christening. *Tininipowi*, Olivella Flower, is the name of the hero in almost all the novelistic folk-tales.

There are certain large white stones which are referred to as *tsabiyu peku*, *tsabiyu* bones.

Of fetiches in general it was said, "Long ago everything could talk, even wood or stone." It was also said, "Long ago everything was soft, then became hard," a reference certainly to the usual Pueblo cosmogonic concept of the pristine softness of the universe.⁴⁵⁵

Santa Clara

Stone images of Bear and Mountain Lion, also of the *towa'e*, are set out on the altar of the *pu'fona*.

San Ildefonso

In a folk-tale, *kayé*, Mountain Lion and Bear, are referred to as living on top of the sacrosanct mesa to the south, *shumak'ere*; but whether in this case fetiches in shrine are referred to or merely spirit animals is ambiguous.

Nambé

The top stone in the shrine in the middle of the plaza is referred to as *kukaiyesendo*, stone *kaiye* old man. In a folk-tale the parents and relatives of the Blue Corn girls are referred to as turned to stone and lying underneath in this same shrine,⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ See pp. 13-14, 256.

⁴⁵⁵ See p. 146.

⁴⁵⁶ See p. 288.

as graphic an account of stone fetichism as can be found in Pueblo folklore.

The medicine-men (*keh*) are possessed of *kūkaiye*, stone *kaiye* or "gods." I heard of one stone bear with turquoise eyes which had become a family heirloom. Genealogy VI, was a *keh* and he left his image to his daughter. From her it was stolen and sold to the storekeeper in San Juan, who was a collector and treated his *kaiye* with so much respect, sprinkling them with corn meal and with medicine water, that the "Bears went out walking to make him rich." Genealogy VI, 5 had been a *kossa* and she sold her two *pachiamu* images to this same storekeeper. When he died recently, by the way, rain fell and rainbows showed over the springs. On the fourth day it rained again.

The *pachiamu* or *tapayachiamu* are now in stone, but the first one was in dough⁴⁵⁷ and is referred to as *owa hiyé*, dough representation. *Hiyé* is a term also for mask.⁴⁵⁸

Water Serpent (*powənyo*) is said to live still in stone near the waterfall of Nambé creek.

The "ice mothers" of the Winter Men of Nambé and Tesuque are said to be white stones to represent ice. Set in the altar the "ice mother" is enveloped in parrot and chaparral cock feathers. (See fig. 13.)

ALTAR⁴⁵⁹ AND RITUAL ROAD

The ground altar picture in "Taytay's Tales"⁴⁶⁰ with its designs in meal of rainbow and lightning, its corn, animal, and

⁴⁵⁷ See ps. 126, 148.

⁴⁵⁸ See p. 303.

⁴⁵⁹ Senté. Also *owi* or *nənsipu* (S.C.), *nən*, sand, earth. Possibly *sipu* is derived from or corresponds to the Keresan term *sipapu* or *shipapu*, a term which was unfamiliar, however, at San Juan and Santa Clara. At Nambé *nangtsipu* refers to the underground shrine in the kiva as well as to that in the plaza, which in the tale of the doubting war captain, is represented as leading underground.

Owing is the term for altar of the Tewa of First Mesa.

⁴⁶⁰ Opposite p. 78.

anthropomorphic fetiches, and its medicine bowl, was said to be like the *pufona* altar. A ground circle of meal is drawn in the eagle-making ceremony described in the San Juan tale of the Envious Corn Girls. This circle is called *owi* or *pueblo*. It figures also on the altar at the installation ceremonial of the Winter Men of Tesuque, as it was drawn by Benina of Nambé. (See fig. 13). The regular Nambé reference in English to altar functioning is "the *patowa* are sitting with their *pokwinge*," lake, meaning the medicine bowl which represents lake or spring (see pls. 16, 17). With few exceptions (see pls. 16, 17) direct descriptions of altars were difficult, if not impossible, to elicit.

From the San Juan tale of Trial by Magic one may infer that melons and ears of corn, and corn on the stalk may be set out on the altar, and in this story there is a suggestion of a ritual altar figure carrying a bowl from which he will squirt water on some grass.

The road in to the altar is called *kanvowa po*, corn meal road (Nambé) or at San Juan

<i>kægi po'</i>	<i>pochashu po'</i> ⁴⁶¹	<i>kqstipi po'</i>
corn meal road	black dirt road	pollen road

A road so constituted is made, according to a San Juan tale, by the society that has recovered a lost man and is to cure him. On the Tesuque and San Juan altar roads are laid crossed pieces of yucca to serve as steppingplaces and to represent the tracks of the chaparral cock, those tracks which are the same, going and coming.⁴⁶² Lines of meal and pollen are also laid down where the ceremonialists are to sit, a practice observed at Zuñi. A road in the irrigation ditch is made for Water Serpent. In a San Juan tale, Bird girl throws meal ahead, making a road, a ladder rises up from the lake and Bird girl descends. At Nambé and Tesuque, probably elsewhere, a woman called *pokawakwi*,

⁴⁶¹ See Harrington, 2, 582.

⁴⁶² Cf. Dumarest, fig. 18.

road bring in woman, brings in the kachina youths, she makes the road for them. (Pl. 19.)

In ritual smoking, the smoke is blown along the "road" into the medicine bowl.

RITUAL SMOKING

San Juan

During the Turtle dance the Winter Man and Summer Man smoke a long pipe (*sako*) into the medicine bowl from which they are going to sprinkle the dancers. No doubt this is here as elsewhere a cloud-making rite. Native tobacco (*poqsa*, water run tobacco) is used, the supply of which is, inferably, in the keeping of the Town chiefs.

In a San Juan folk-tale a cigarette is given to the winners in a trial of magic. In another tale the ceremonialists smoke the long pipe and then give a smoke to the youth about to go on magical enterprise.⁴⁶³ In the account of an obsolete dance at San Juan there is mention of giving a pipe (i.e., cigarette) on inviting to dance.⁴⁶⁴ Should a man want help in cutting wheat, he might give a cigarette and some meal to the governor, who would then summon the townsmen at large to cut. The cigarette and meal might also be given to the chief of any ceremonial group—Summer Man or Winter Man, *kossa sendo*, or *pufona sendo*, who would then summon the members of his group.⁴⁶⁵

Analogously, on making any request, some loose tobacco may be given to any one, who then "has to do it." For example, give some tobacco (and meal) to a guest who has declined to tell a story, and he *has* to tell the story. When the cigarette hit the kachina who had changed himself into a

⁴⁶³ Cf. Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 105, for the connection between smoking and magic (*pinqng*) in the minds of the Tewa of Arizona.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 105. "All requests and proposals made to a chief should be prefaced by giving him tobacco and making him smoke!" (Tewa of Arizona).

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Parsons 4: 168.

bird in the Nambé story of How the Blue Corn Girls Escape Flood and Found Nambé,⁴⁶⁶ I suppose the kachina *had* to retransform to kachina as Crook Prayer-stick old man desired.

In giving the ritual cigarette, the term of address is *tiupare*, the term usual between ceremonial colleagues, or *toró sendo* which is "a hard, old word," i.e., a ceremonial term only. The recipient responds with *hq*, yes. "Hard words, good words," by the way, meaning presumably obsolete or borrowed terms, are indicated in the folk-tales as being a feature of Tewa ritual terminology, as they are elsewhere.

Tesuque

The sick who want treatment by Buffalo Head ask for it of the *samaiyo* with a cigarette.

The cane cigarettes, unsmoked and stoppered with feathers, likewise the half-smoked or charred ones, seen in the shrines on the Tesuque hills, and the charred cigarettes in one of the San Juan shrines, indicate a general practice of making requests to the Spirits with tobacco.

BREATH RITES

The rite of breathing in is called *hako* (*ihakonde*, pl.), *ha*, heart, *ko*, take it. This rite was referred to as performed in connection with the *kayé* or stone fetich animals. The hand is passed over the image and then, not the image, but the hand is breathed from. The rite of breathing out is called *hatsiperi*, *ha*, heart, *tsiperi*, blow (as in blowing off dust or kindling fire). The corn used in naming an infant is thus breathed on.

"GIVING WATER" (*poku*): MEDICINE

"Giving water," i.e., medicine water, is the outstanding preliminary rite for initiation into any group. See pp. 95, 226. Fetiches are put into the medicine bowl, and the drink is given from a shell.

⁴⁶⁶ P. 284.

As elsewhere, a medicine drink may be given to people at large;⁴⁶⁷ and in general medicine is set out on the altar.

Medicine is sprinkled on the seeds which are to go into the ritual shinny ball. The kachina bring plant medicine which people are to chew and spit over themselves. Charcoal is chewed and spat out as medicine against the dead. In the folk-tales there are many particular applications of medicine. In the Nambé tale⁴⁶⁸ Shrivelled Corn old woman puts two herbs in the ritual bath she prepares for the Corn girls. In a San Juan tale medicine is given to a youth to induce magical potency, just as medicine is rubbed over the Eagle impersonators in the Eagle dance to give them strength. Spider Grandmother in a Santa Clara tale gives medicine to the women warriors to rub on themselves and their bows and arrows, and to spit all around themselves just as the San Juan warriors actually no doubt used their war medicines. Some of this medicine was presumably to render a person invisible. That is the kind both Spider Grandmother and Black Corn gave the husband in the tale of Witch Wife, in order that he may eat it (Spider's medicine is a stick or root) and become invisible to the witches. When the man wants to snatch the girl who has been resurrected by the witches from their midst he spits the medicine around about. Again Spider Grandmother gives the hunter medicine to spit on himself and on the tracks of the magic animals sent to overcome him.

The plant specific against witches is *okawæpe*. It is gathered, at Nambé, by the *kossa* or by the doctors, on their way back from the mountain, "from the big lake." (See p. 226.) The War captains will take some to each house. It is burned, for the smoke which the witches are "awful afraid of." At cures it is also burned, to keep the witch away from the patient. On going visiting, people will carry a piece.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁷ See p. 99.

⁴⁶⁸ See p. 285.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Islet practice. (Parsons 19).

The medicine bowl is also used to gaze into, for clairvoyance.⁴⁷⁰ In witch-catching the picture of the pursuit is seen in the bowl. The bowl is referred to as *pokwi*, lake, pool and in ceremonial it takes the place for the Spirits of their own "lake," for the "road" for them leads from the door of the ceremonial chamber to the bowl.⁴⁷¹ Water for it, as well as for medicines in general and sacrosanct pigments, is fetched from sacrosanct springs referred to at San Juan as *potsai-pokwime*, water white lake, on the north side of town, *pot-sawapokwime*, water blue lake, on the west side, between the church and the river, *popipokwime*, water red lake, near Santa Cruz. There are also "cardinal sacred water lakes" near San Ildefonso with the waters of which medicine-water (*wopo*) is prepared.⁴⁷²

One night there stopped at the ranch a Taos man and his wife who were on a drive from Taos to Chimayó, about twenty miles from San Juan. My San Juan friends inferred that he was fetching a medicine clay from Chimayó. Jemez and Isleta people also journey to get this pinkish clay or mud. Over the spring a chapel is built, which is in the custody of a Mexican. *Santukepulabinan*, Saint Kepula⁴⁷³ his earth, the clay is called. Once the place belonged to the Tewa who subsequently went to live with the Hopi. It was at Chimayó these First Mesa Tewa used to live. When I referred, at this point, to the fact that the Hopi had never learned to speak Tewa from the immigrants, the same explanation was given as had been given on First Mesa, namely that those Tewa on arriving at First Mesa had made a deep hole and spat into it and so had buried and hidden their tongue. After that contrivance no Hopi could ever learn Tewa.

⁴⁷⁰ See p. 125.

⁴⁷¹ This is a possible interpretation for the rite of dropping the fetich stones. into the medicine bowl. (Isleta, Zuñi, etc.)

⁴⁷² Harrington, 2, 44-5. See p. 128.

⁴⁷³ Known at Isleta as Escapula and considered a potent cure-working saint

ASPERSING

Like kachina dancers elsewhere, at San Juan the Turtle dancers are water-besprinkled.⁴⁷⁴ In a San Juan tale, Eagle, after his search for White Corn girl, seems tired, so they sprinkled him with water.⁴⁷⁵ With their eagle feathers Crook Prayer-stick old man and Shrivelled Corn old woman asperse the Corn girls with medicine water. The *kossa* asperge an initiate with a corn cob.

A woman of the household will sprinkle water on the man of the household as he leaves to plant corn. The planter of wheat is not sprinkled.

In a trial of magic in a San Juan folk-tale the youth who is to produce corn and melons has to spurt water from his mouth on a green spot arranged for in the kiva.

At San Juan the corpse is water-sprinkled or aspersed by the Catholic priest.

CIRCUIT AND DIRECTION: COLOR ASSOCIATION

The anti-sunwise circuit is favored as consistently in daily life and in ritual as elsewhere. The cook stick is stirred in this way, this is the dance circuit, and the circuit in playing ceremonial shinny. In a San Juan tale Coyote observes the circuit in jumping out, "four times, from under the wall, north, west, south, east," and regularly in folk-tale the circuit is a framework or constructive device, as it is also in ritual. For example, medicine put into the medicine bowl on altars is first moved in the directions (*ta'w'æ*, circle draw). The corn ears used in the naming ritual are moved in the directions, but, curiously enough, at least according to one informant, in an order which is exceptional: north, south, west, east, above, below.

The ritual circuit or the directions are associated as elsewhere with color. For the Cloud beings, *oxuwah* and their

⁴⁷⁴ See p. 180.

⁴⁷⁵ See p. 297.

messengers, for the *kayé* (shrines), for the *towa'e*, and for the Corn girls the order is: north, blue-green; west, yellow;⁴⁷⁶ south, red; east, white; zenith, dark; nadir, speckled or spotted.⁴⁷⁷ In a San Juan folk-tale lakes are named in the color circuit—*potsaweseno*, water blue old man, *potseyiseno*, water yellow old man, *popiseno*, water red old man. The actual cardinal springs of San Juan show some irregularity in the color-circuit.⁴⁷⁸

The moieties have color associations. "Everything of Winter people is white; everything of Summer people is yellow or blue." (S.C.) And the moieties are associated with directions, at San Juan, the Winter people, with the eastern hills, the Summer people with the western hills; at San Ildefonso, the mesa to the north (*tu'yo*, "belongs to" the Summer people the mesa to the south (*shuma*), to the Winter people. A north and south division is expressed in the racing ritual of San Juan as well as an east and west division—Winter people, north and east, Summer people, south and west. At Nambé the Winter people stand to the east, the Summer people to the west.

As elsewhere, notably at Isleta and Zuñi, the left hand is associated with the dead. Food offerings are made to them with the left hand. In the San Juan folk-tale of the youth who

⁴⁷⁶ Consistently, in a San Juan folk-tale, *Oxuwah tseyi powaho* appears in the west, on top of Tsikomo, where in a Santa Clara tale Olivella Flower boy is turned into a *yellow* snake. Again, in San Ildefonso folk-tale, Blue (kachina) boy directs Blue Corn girl to look on the north side, in order to see him. In all but Tewa pueblos, blue is the color of the west, yellow of the north. But color direction associations are not as standardized as the literature would indicate. Individuals vary somewhat in their ideas.

⁴⁷⁷ Harrington gives (2, 43) for zenith, all-colored; for nadir, black. And in folk-tales about the Cloud beings I get the same order. Possibly the order is not the same for the Corn girls and for the Cloud beings. However, one San Juan man gives all colors for the Corn girls of the zenith, and black for those of the nadir. In this man's folk-tale about the Corn girls the order he follows is Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled or All colors Corn girls, White corn girls.

⁴⁷⁸ See p. 257; Parsons 4: 17.

gambles with a ghost, the youth tears out the heart of the ghost with his left hand, and when he carries the heart into the kiva, it is held in his left hand.

The direction of discard is to the west—"bad things are always thrown to the west," at least so said Benina of Nambé, a Winter woman.

HAIR WASHING AND RITUAL BATH

In a San Juan folk-tale a woman washes her husband's head as a preliminary to attendance on a ceremonial of public curing or exorcism.⁴⁷⁹ And yet I got the impression that hair washing was a less ubiquitous rite than to the south and west.⁴⁸⁰ For example, before the fast and all night ceremony of the San Juan Winter Men on November 10, they did not wash their hair as such sacerdotalists would assuredly have done in other towns. Again, at death, hair washing appears not to be the common practice it is elsewhere, nor is there any reference to hair washing as a rite of initiation. On the other hand, a ritual bath is constantly referred to. It is a rite of exorcism among death practices, and it occurs in connection with ceremonies. After the ceremony of seasonal transfer referred to above, the Winter Men bathed because they had "left summer behind." In the moiety adoption ceremonial of San Juan, the adopted take a ritual bath, the women indoors, the men or boys in the river. The *kossa* initiate is bathed before being cured. The mask dancers have to bathe in the river before dancing (S.I.) and San Juan dancers are said to wash their paint off in the river. In a San Juan folk-tale the boy who is to be sacrificed to Lightning is first bathed. And so are the Corn girls before they are levitated to the sky, in the Nambé tale.⁴⁸¹ Before Crook Prayer-stick old man and Shrivelled Corn old woman begin to work their magic they take a ritual bath.⁴⁸² The *kossa* of Nambé and Santa Clara are dipped into their sacred lake.

⁴⁷⁹ See p. 124.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf., too, Robbins, Harrington, Freire-Marreco, 50.

⁴⁸¹ See p. 285.

⁴⁸² See p. 297.

FASTING: RETREAT: CONTINENCE

Fasting is practiced during one day in connection with the ceremonies of seasonal transfer. It is not observed by the ceremonialists at the solstices. The Eagle impersonators in the San Juan Eagle ceremony are given but one ear of corn a day during their four day retreat and a little medicine water. In a San Juan folk-tale about mask dancing, where the scene is laid at San Ildefonso, it is stated that during the four-day retreat of the impersonators "they gave them only green corn and corn bread without salt (and no meat) three times a day. In another San Juan folk-tale a youth fasts in the kiva for four days preliminary to undertaking a magical task. He grows thin, for all he takes his medicine under the direction of the ceremonialists. There is complete fasting for the *apienu* and Blue Corn girls of San Juan during their initiation retreats of twelve or eight days.

Before a mask dance the impersonators are in retreat, at Santa Clara and at San Ildefonso, four days, and this practice prevails, presumably, at the other pueblos. In a San Juan folk-tale in which the kachina come there have been four preliminary days of "work" in the kiva. There is a San Juan folk-tale of boys twelve days in retreat for rain.

Retreat always implies ritual continence. Continence is observed by the Eagle and Animal impersonators in the Eagle and Animal dances, and by the mask dancers. In the San Juan tale already referred to, the tale of the San Ildefonso masker who spoke to a girl when his mask sticks to his face, they say, "Because this boy talked with a girl, that is why it is like this."⁴⁸³ Continence was observed by the women participating in the San Juan and Santa Clara war dance; and in a tale referring to this dance the seeker of the needed parrot feathers "stays in" four days, saying to his wife, "Do not touch me."

⁴⁸³ See, too the Nambé tale of the incontinent impersonator, p. 303.

PASSES

In a San Juan folk-tale, to summon the *oxuwah* of rain and hail, the magic workers take ashes⁴⁸⁴ in their hands and scatter them by passing the palms rapidly against each other in contrary direction. A similar slicing gesture is made with broom and fire-stick by the godmother in the naming ceremony, and with feathers by the *puf'ona* before the ritual rain race.⁴⁸⁵ The kachina called Bear doctor (*keh puf'ona*) exorcises town and fields with his feathers, the rite of *ohuwa peri*, of blowing away sickness, or *keh peri ayaichanoi*, bear blow sweep away. Moving anything like broom or poker in circuit (*nata'w'ε*), four times, is exorcism against witches or against the dead. In San Juan folk-tales eagle feathers are used by the sacerdotalists to motion or place a youth in the proper ritual position.

"Woman-Man"⁴⁸⁶

This puzzling phrase figures throughout Tewa ritual and is recurrent in the folk-tales.⁴⁸⁷ To be or become "woman-man" is equivalent to having unusual power. And so when the *kossa* are going into kiva retreat they are urged to be "brave and smart," "woman-man." Again when a Winter man is to be sent for spruce he warns the Outside chief that woman-man-like he must face inclement weather. It was thought that men had to be "woman-man" to go for salt.⁴⁸⁸ It may be in like

⁴⁸⁴ Ashes are everywhere associated with magic or witchcraft, both as a means to magic and in prophylaxis. In the Santa Clara tale of the Witch wife ashes are thrown into the witch medicine of boiling piñon gum, to make the jars crack and spill out the bad medicine. In curing, at Nambé, what is taken out of the body of the patient, is dropped into a circle of ashes, and then itself reduced to ashes and "blown" away.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. Dumarest, 156.

⁴⁸⁶ San Juan: *kwisewaliyane*, woman, man, to be; Nambé, *kwisenymune*.

⁴⁸⁷ The equivalent is not familiar at Taos nor, as far as I know, in other Pueblo tribes.

⁴⁸⁸ See pp. 267-268.

connection that the Town chiefs are addressed or referred to as "our father and mother." Benina of Nambé opined that the chiefs in general represented both female and male spirits, "that is why they are told to be woman and man." They turn into others than themselves, i.e., they are possessed by the Spirits, "like the *padre* when he gives the sacrament."

In the tale of the Emergence when four times he who has been chosen as emissary to the upper world is asked if he will not be woman-man, and urged to be, ordered to be, he agrees, saying, "Yes, I am a woman-man for all the people who are in here." Again, in a tale imputed to the Hopi a youth is chosen to seek the evil that is killing off the people. "Our son," says the Summer Town chief, "you ought to think like a woman-man." He accepts by saying, "Of course I will be woman-man." After his preliminary fast, when the ceremonialists have seated him "in the road," they say, "Think like a woman-man and like our Father." After smoking, "he fell down, stretching, to become strong like woman-man." When he arises he is able to fly.

SUPERNATURALS

THE MOTHERS

As fetiches we have described the two corn ear Mothers of Summer Town chief and of Winter Town chief. There is little if any suggestion in the Emergence myth that the beings themselves stay behind where they were born, as Corn or Earth Mother does in the Keresan emergence myth.⁴⁸⁹ I can but think, however, that when we learn more about the Tewa Mothers that their nature as Earth beings and as beings separable from the corn ears will become clearer. Even from the ritual as known they are, we infer, the predominating beings of the Tewa. They love and help. In the San Juan tale of the man who visits the houses of the Snakes and Ants and Parrots all tell him that he has been able to come thus far because Our Mother has helped him. The Parrots add, "Your father is seated (in magical ritual) asking Our Mother to help you."

The Corn girls of the cardinal directions are also referred to as Mothers. "You are the Mothers of the people," says Shrivelled Corn old woman to the envious Corn girls in the San Juan tale, "You are not the ones to treat any one wrongly." In one of the San Juan tales of the Emergence, the Corn girls are specified as coming out with the others, excepting perhaps Black Corn girl "who lives below" and has more magic (*pinq*) than the others. Besides Blue, Yellow, Red, White, All Colors and Black Corn girls, there constantly figures in the tales *Finini anyo*, who represents sweet corn. "She is the seventh."

SUN, MOON, STARS, LIGHTNING, WORLD MAN

Sun and Moon are both addressed or referred to as old man, *sendo*, *t'qn sendo* and *p'o sendo*, Sun old man and Moon

⁴⁸⁹ It is of interest to the study of distribution that the *two* Mothers figure in Keresan folklore, but not in Keresan organization.

old man. Corn meal is sprinkled to Sun every morning, by the chiefs and by anybody who wishes to give him meal.⁴⁹⁰ "G'æko, eat it!" they say. According to Benina of Nambé, it is to *tamuyowa enu*, the "holy" Dawn youths, that this meal is sprinkled. *Tamuyowa enu* are "a kind of *oxuwah enu* (Cloud beings youths)." In the Santa Clara variant of the boys who find their father, Sun, the slow-moving elder brother is to be the Summer Sun, when the days are long, and the quick-moving younger brother is to be the Winter Sun, when the days are short. At Nambé White Corn girl is said to be the mother of *tamuyowa enu*. Formerly, it was Nambé practice for the senior member of the household on awaking to sing a *pinq* song, saying, "The *tamuyowa enu* are waiting for you to feed them, to bring you good health, good food, and so on," the singer naming some one in the household who would then go out to feed the Dawn youths, in the four directions.

Lightning is *tsihguwenu*, Arrow point stone boy. In tale he is described as policing the spirit animals.⁴⁹¹ When Lightning speaks, the ground shakes; fire comes out of his mouth.

There is at Jemez considerable evidence of star cults in addition to the widespread Pueblo identification of the morning-star with the war god. The Three Stars in a Line (Orion's belt) and the Seven Stars (Pleiades) are supernaturals.⁴⁹² Among the Tewa the three stars called *wirini* (*w'irindi*, *w'iri*) are also supernaturals. As stated before, they are seasonal prognosticators and are watched by the Town chiefs. They are "winter stars." The Seven Stars called *tirini*⁴⁹³ (*tyigini*)

⁴⁹⁰ As at Zuñi, on First Mesa (Tewa), probably elsewhere.

⁴⁹¹ Inferably arrowpoints are tied to the animal fetiches, as elsewhere.

⁴⁹² In a Zuñi tale (in MS) in which the woman stealer, Knife-Wing, a sky being, is destroyed, his dismembered arms are thrown into the sky to become the Seven Stars (*kwillilikyakwe*), and one of his thighs, to become the three stars in a row (*ipilakwe*). His head was to be Morning Star. One of his legs thrown to the west was to be the star coming out before dawn.

⁴⁹³ Their twinkling was indicated by my informant by rapid movement of his fingers.

are "summer stars." Whether they are also accounted supernatural, I did not learn. The evening star is referred to as *tsəkīn kwiyo*, Yellow-going old woman⁴⁹⁴ (San Juan, Nambé)⁴⁹⁵ or *agoyotseham kwiyo* (*ham > nahame*, finish) (Santa Clara); the morning star,⁴⁹⁶ as *agoyo so'yu*, star big, or *agoyonohu* (star dark) or *agoyonohuseh* (*seh*, man). This star used to be asked to help in war.⁴⁹⁷ In the Santa Clara folk-tale of the Blue Corn girls sent to fight, Spider Grandmother gives them this war song:

"Formerly we were Blue Corn girls,
Now we are Dark Star man."

Agoyopi'i', Red star, seemed not unfamiliar to a Santa Clara informant, but she denied that between it and the war gods (*towa'e*) there was any connection. A falling star is referred to as a tailed star descending angry.⁴⁹⁸

Universe or World Man, *opa'ochutse*,⁴⁹⁹ is mentioned in a San Juan folk-tale as the begetter, through a piñon nut, of Poseyému, to whom, when he is grown, he gives a name and fine attire. At Nambé *opaochuse* is identified with Poseyemu,

⁴⁹⁴ In folk-tale she is pursuing Morning Star and sometimes passing him, she is swifter because she has no heart, i.e., she once died. It is the tale of the man who finds his dead wife, on the fourth night after death before they have sent her away. He can not stay with her and flees. Each is shot up in a cane arrow into the sky. Cf. Harrington, 1, 49.

Arizona Tewa call the evening star *ts'ekonkwīyo*. "She is an old woman with grey hair hanging over her face."

⁴⁹⁵ *ts'exqkwiyo*, yellow fading old woman.

⁴⁹⁶ The time indicated by its rising is termed *wari*, and is observed in ritual and in secular life.

⁴⁹⁷ To *agayosoyo* prayer-feathers (not prayer-sticks) are offered at the winter solstice ceremony of the Tewa of Arizona, by anybody, who throws them anywhere to the east. The offerer asks for long life and to be a strong man.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. Harrington, 2, 49. Harrington states this reference is to a comet. "Star with tail" (*agayononakwempo*) is the name given a comet by the Arizona Tewa who say that it betokens that something is going to happen, sickness or war. A falling star they call *agayqiunghong*, "star taking itself to be married."

⁴⁹⁹ Nambé, *opaochuse*, world green man. Harrington refers to *opaseng*, Universe Man. (Harrington, 2, 41).

and said to live still in Sand lake, the lake of the Emergence. In one of the San Juan Emergence tales, *opaochuse* is prayed to by the *kossa* to give increase of population.⁵⁰⁰

FIRE, WIND, RAGGED WOMAN, MEAN OLD MAN AND WOMAN, SALT WOMAN, SPIDER WOMAN, CACTUS GRANDMOTHER

Fire is a supernatural,—Fire flower woman (*pahpobi kwiyo*). She may be fed before a meal by dropping crumbs into the cook fire. She is prayed to in infant naming ritual and in connection with hunting.⁵⁰¹ *Pahte enu*, Fire boy, who figures in several folk-tales, is prayed to by the *kossa* of San Juan for a good day when they are going out to play. They sprinkle ashes in the directions. The fire poker, which used to be a yucca stick, because “lucky” is called *pahte enu*. (Hence in the tales the term is sometimes translated Poker boy.)

Wind is a supernatural—Wind woman (*wakwiyo*). “Wind woman is coming!” San Juan people will say. Wind old man and old woman are exorcised by the *kossa* of Nambé by sprinkling ashes in the directions. In a San Ildefonso war gods tale, Wind (*puwqhq*)⁵⁰² man and Wind woman are bugaboos living in the north. Ragged woman (*w'itsa kwiyo*) is another bugaboo supernatural who lives in the north, and children may be told not to go northward because of her. Thus would Dolorita (Gen. I, 1) admonish her grandchildren. In the north, according to San Juan folk-tale, lived *Pineto sendo* (mean old man) and *Pineto kwiyo* (mean woman), sequestering the animals until Dark Star's sons broadcasted them on Earth. Salt woman (*anye kwiyo*) once lived near San Juan, but, like the Salt woman of the Keres, she became offended with her “children” and deserted them for a distant home. At Nambé, Salt woman is reported to have said, “I shall see if you people

⁵⁰⁰ See p. 149.

⁵⁰¹ See pp. 16, 136. Also cf. Parsons, 3, 13 n.2.

⁵⁰² But note the resemblance of this term to that of San Juan for the warrior messengers (*powaha*) of the Cloud beings.

are *kwisé* (woman-man), and can come and get me." Betwixt seasons, neither summer nor winter, in September, was the time of going for her.

Spider Woman (*awæ kwiyo*) figures constantly in the tales, and is thought of, as elsewhere, as a helpful supernatural.

Cactus is referred to at Nambé as *saiya*, grandmother. To a certain place where she grows people go to feed her. In making bread a woman will place in the oven, before she puts in the dough, a pinch of ashes to represent *Saiya*, so that the bread will increase no matter how many eat of it.

CLOUD BEINGS (OXUHWÁ)

The *oxuhwa* live below springs or lakes,⁵⁰³ in the hills or mountains, in the six directions. They are referred to by color, *oxuhwa tsqwe* (blue-green), for the north; *oxuhwa tseyi* (yellow), for the west; *oxuhwa pi'i* (red), for the south; *oxuhwa tsæ* (*tse'yi*) (white), for the east; *oxuhwa nqhuwe* (dark), for the zenith;⁵⁰⁴ *oxuhwa tæmægi* (speckled, all colors) for the nadir.⁵⁰⁵ Also mentioned were *oxuhwa pi'owe* (pink)⁵⁰⁶ *oxuhwa enu*, kachina boys. "Red Cloud"⁵⁰⁷ is specifically represented in mask among the Santa Clara kachina; but whether the other Santa Clara masks represent the other directional kachina is obscure. *Oxuhwatseyi* is the whipper mask⁵⁰⁸ at the San Juan kachina initi-

⁵⁰³ In the tales the lakes themselves may be referred to as Blue water old man, Yellow water old man, etc. And cf. Harrington, 2, 263. Harrington remains uncertain as to whether the lakes are mythic beings. Folk-tale answers that they are.

⁵⁰⁴ But see p. 259n. 477.

⁵⁰⁵ The *shiwanna* of the Keres are referred to in the same way. (Dumarest, 182).

⁵⁰⁶ To a question about *oxuhwa pendi* (black) (cf. Harrington, 2, 43), Rosita of San Juan guessed there were such, "because there is black corn, too." In her mind, at least, the color associations of the *oxuhwa* are those of the corn which they bring.

⁵⁰⁷ Harrington was told that Red Cloud lives on top of Sandia Mountain (in the south, i.e., the proper directional association for red), and that he was the father of the war gods. Harrington, 2, 47. Cf. Dumarest, 227 n.4.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Goldfrank, 2, 111. Possibly I am confusing him with *tseokuwah* (p. 154).

ation. In a San Ildefonso tale, female *oxuhwa* as well as male are mentioned. Each of the six directional *oxuhwa* has his servant or errand man or warrior, *powaha*, e.g., *oxuhwa tseyi powaha*. These bring the heavy rains.

When it looks like rain, people say *oxu'are æ*, the *oxuhwa* are coming, or, in a violent rain, *oxu'aredeæ*, the *oxuhwa* are coming mad. In a San Juan folk-tale, *oxuhwa* with yucca switches visit the kiva and the Ash boys cry out, "Do not be mad! Do not be mad!" In one folk-tale as soon as the masks are taken out from their bowl, and the kachina begin to dance, rain begins to fall. It is as positive a reference to the causal relation between dancing and rainfall as can be found in any Pueblo folk-tale or systematic statement. In another folk-tale two naughty little boys steal the masks which are hanging up (after the dance) while the people sleep. The boys take the masks home and there in their town they had "summer all the time and rains." In the town whence the masks had been taken it remained very dry.

The rainbow belongs to the *oxuhwa*. It may appear over their springs or lakes. At Nambé among their lakes or springs were mentioned: *ogapogepokwin*, shell, Santa Fé lake, a dried-up lake now deserted by the *oxuhwa*;⁵⁰⁹ *agachenepokwinge*, cloth all colors (*tsæge*) lake,⁵¹⁰ where it lightnings; and *kate pokwinge*, leaf dwelling place lake.⁵¹¹ Here, in winter, yucca (*pamopæ*) will be found on top of the ice, indicating that the *oxuhwa* have come up from the spring to wash their heads (in yucca root suds).

If you dream of *oxuhwa* or of the dead, there will be rain. At the death of any person of distinction rain is expected.⁵¹²

The dead are clearly associated with the *oxuhwa*. "They become *oxuhwa*," stated Benina of Nambé. I may repeat in

⁵⁰⁹ "The *kossa* brought them thence." Cf. Harrington, 2, 349.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Harrington, 2, 348.

⁵¹¹ Cf. Harrington, 2, 352. See p. 226.

⁵¹² See p. 64. Cf. Laguna, Parsons 13: 87n. 2.

this connection the significant San Juan prayer or injunction to the deceased, "Whether you become *kayapowaha* or *kayatsa^uwe* or *kayatseyi* or *kayapi* or *kayatsæ* or *kayanqhu* or *kayatæmægi*, from the mountains and hills you have to help your people."

TSABIYU

San Juan

These two masked figures come out at the Christmastide dances, when they visit every house and are given bread to put in their sacks.⁵¹³ One wears a white mask (See pl. 37)⁵¹⁴ and white shirt, he is a Winter man; the other, a Summer man, wears a black mask and a yellow shirt. There is a wig over the mask which is made of goatskin and frequently renewed, and a foxskin collar. Both wear trousers and shoes, and carry a horse-whip and a sack. At this time the *tsabiyu* may catch boys and girls, "to make them dance." Parents pay bread as ransom. At any time the old people may say to the children, "*Tsabiyu* will come to whip you or to take you." To a crying child it might be said, "*Tsabiyu* will hear you from *k'osena*."⁵¹⁵ And a child may be told that *tsabiyu* has said that he has ears in the chimney.⁵¹⁶ "Knock and I will come," he says. So to a child crying or lazy a mother may say, "I will certainly knock on the chimney." "Don't do it, mother," begs the child. The mother may go so far as to pick up a stick to tap with.

⁵¹³ As are their Taos and Zuñi and Hopi homologues, *tsabaiyuna* and *atoshle* and *suyuku*.

⁵¹⁴ See p. 182.

⁵¹⁵ See p. 271.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. the Hopi *suyuku* (Parsons, 6, 104). A Tewa mother of First Mesa may say to a naughty child, "Look in the fireplace!" This is the "window" of *tsabaiyó* (Hopi, *tsábaiyo*) and *suyuku*. When children are naughty, *tsabaiyó* are said to come close to town to the nearest spring—they live in springs and under kivas (like other *kachina*). *Tsabaiyó* carries a basket to carry a child off in. He always carries a basket, for he is constantly looking for a child or a deer to carry off to eat. . . . Now and again *tsabaiyó* is impersonated. He wears buckskin trousers, no shirt, bandolier and belt of olivella shells (Hopi, *mqshilili*, Tewa, *tədidi*), a round black mask with big goggle eyes, big mouth and ears, a fur collar, a rabbit-skin quilt on his back, his basket on top. He carries a big knife.

Even with older children, girls, *tsabiyu* may be used as a bugaboo.⁵¹⁷ In the San Juan folk-tale of the Disobedient Girls, *tsabiyu* appears as a ferocious whipper. The chief has sent word for all to go and gather onions, but the two Yellow Corn girls delay going until the others are coming home. Along comes "one of those *tsabiyu sendo*" with his long yucca blades. "*Sægi-tsamu*, you do not mind the chiefs!" he said. Then he drew out his whip, and whipped one and then the other. They ran, and cried. And he ran after them and whipped them, and they ran and he after them. And the laces of their moccasins broke and their leggings fell off, and they left them there and ran, and their belts came off and they left them there and kept on running. He was after them and whipped them. And they threw off their shawls and dropped their onions. And he ran and he whipped. Their under-belt came off and dropped. He used up all his blades. Then he said, "Yellow Corn girls, next time you won't do this again. When people go out, they should all go together. This is what happens to girls who don't obey their chiefs. Now go home!" They went home, without onions, without moccasins or belts or shawls.—This story was told me by a woman who had heard it from her much respected maternal uncle, a chief.

Tsabiyu is associated with snowfall. When it looks as if it were snowing in the eastern mountains, where *tsabiyu* comes from, people may say to the children, "*Tsabiyu* is coming," or "*Tsabiyu* are getting ready their sacks in the hills." Somebody was quoted to me actually saying this one November day, November 10. After it has snowed, people may say, "*Tsabiyu* is under the snow, he won't come."

San Ildefonso, Tesuque

At San Ildefonso, *tsabiyu* is also referred to as *pewa sendo* (Mex., *awelito*, i.e., *abuelito*, little grandfather).

⁵¹⁷ Other bugaboos are referred to in the tales—*singwæ kwiyo*, Teeth woman (Santa Clara), *pendi sendo*, Black old man, *chuge kwiyo*, Witch woman (Santa Clara), *puwqhq* old man and woman (San Ildefonso).

At Tesuque, probably in most of the southern towns,⁵¹⁹ *tsabaiyó* is believed to live in the cave on the Black Mesa.⁵²⁰ Here in a Tesuque tale the *towa e* come to fight him and he puts them in his oven.⁵²¹

WAR SPIRITS (*Towa e' sen^do*, *Little people old men*)

San Juan

In most connections there appear to be six *towa e'*, in some the more familiar two.⁵²² As usual, in the tales the *towa e'* are two.⁵²³ On the other hand, the six Outside chiefs are said to represent the six *towa e'*, although here, too, only the head Outside chief and his right-hand man may be referred to as representing *t'owa'e sen^do*, Little people old men. A middle-aged woman spoke of the *t'owa'e* as follows: "We never see the *t'owa'e* now. Long ago the *pu'fona* told them to get ready to guard the *pu'fona*. They blackened their faces. Now we have only the *akonotoyo* (Outside chiefs). They say maybe we have them again, those *t'owa'e*. . . . They say when it rains hard, 'Don't be mad, come, wet our plants.' In this way we hear our mothers talk to them." The *towa'e* have in charge not only heavy rain, but mist, also lightning. These they get ready for the *oxuw'a* to work with.⁵²⁴

The six *towa'e* are associated with the colors of the six directions.

⁵¹⁹ For Nambé, see Harrington, 2, 374.

⁵²⁰ Cf. Harrington, 2, 295.

⁵²¹ Parsons, 4, 98. Cf. 278-9. Also Harrington, 2, 298-9.

⁵²² In the San Juan Emergence tale the two concepts are combined, there are two original *towa'e* and these two create six sets of *towa'e*, two in each set, which arrangement corresponds to that of the war spirits of Sia or to six or twelve *saly-mobia* or war kachina of Zuñi.

⁵²³ It is of interest that in many San Juan tales in which figure the familiar two little boys they are not referred to as *towa'e*. These may be borrowed tales in which the trait of war godship has been dropped out. The war gods as two may be Western, the war gods as six, Northeastern.

⁵²⁴ Cf. p. 145. As elsewhere, the war spirits are also weather spirits.

Miniature bows and arrows are offered to the *towa'e* by the Outside chiefs.

San Ildefonso

Like their counterparts elsewhere, the *towae* in folk-tale play ball, shinny, as well as hunt, and shinny sticks and arrows are cited as proper offerings. The two *towae* hunt rabbits to the north, against their grandmother's injunction, and they have an adventure with Wind man and woman. Wind man they out-smoke, and then they talk over the same method of worsting Oxuwah man if they are to go up to the sky.

Nambé

Our comparative observer asserted that for Nambé, as for every pueblo, there were two *towa é*, and that representing them in each pueblo there were *five akonotoya* or Outside chiefs.

TAPAYACHIAMU

This is the patron spirit of the *kossa* who was created as a dough image from sweet-corn meal⁵²⁵ according to an emergence tale of San Juan. The image is anthropomorphic. (Pl. 17.) The clown societies throughout the pueblos have patron or tutelary spirits. The name of this *kossa* spirit is undoubtedly related to that of the Keresan clown or *koshare* spirit—*payetemu*, youth. Sun youth he is called also at Laguna (and Zuñi).

MOUNTAIN-LION AND BEAR

Mountain-Lion and Bear are definitely thought of as supernatural, Lion as associated with the hunt, and Bear with medicine.⁵²⁶ Collectively Lion and Bear, perhaps other animals, are referred to as *kaye* when their supernatural character is in mind, as *tsiwi*, when they are referred to as natural creatures. In the San Juan origin tale there is a reference to the *tsiwi*, however, as spirit animals, to Lion, Bear, Wolf, Coyote, *mosa*,

⁵²⁵ Cf. Parsons, 13, 114.

⁵²⁶ See pp. 120, 122, 303–304.

wild cat; and to *tamagiin*, dragon-flies, and honey bees. In this reference it is implied that the spirit creatures both hurt or make sick and cure, and through such ritual they initiate or induct into office a leader, *Kanyotsanyotse*, who is identified today with the Hunt chief, not with the curing society.

In another San Juan tale, *Kanyotsanoyotse* is described as "a kind of mountain-lion," and in this tale he is certainly distinguished from mountain-lion because mountain-lion (*kæ*) also figures. Bear is called *ketseyase*, bear yellow man. Wolf also appears. All four animal spirits are ruled by Lightning.

WATER SERPENT (*Avanyu*)

Of the *avanyu sen^{do}*, the Horned Water Serpent, there are believed to be a pair. (S. J.)⁵²⁷ They live "down in the water," and "when there is lots of water from the mountains, *avanyu* sends it." Similarly, as noted, *avanyu* sends the water for irrigation, and in the ditch is made to him an offering of turkey feathers, *poshu*, and corn meal. I infer from a San Juan folk-tale that the two *avanyu* may be either impersonated in a kiva ceremony, by youths, or that images of *avanyu* are made, perhaps by the Winter chief and the *pu'fona* chief, and manipulated by the youths. At Nambé and San Juan, Water Serpent controls the waters of the river. The *kossa* have a ceremony to ask him to send down a flow of water or to check a flood. (See pl. 17.)

Avanyu appears to be an arbiter of morals. The younger people are told the story of how at one time when people were not minding their Winter chief and Summer chief they were summoned to the kiva. "Why do you not mind your Mother and Father [the chiefs], my children?" they were asked. Then Water Serpent sent the water, and all in the kiva were drowned.⁵²⁸ "Now they don't want us to have times like that," commented

⁵²⁷ At San Ildefonso, six, for each direction, according to Harrington, 2, 43.

⁵²⁸ In a recorded folk-tale the situation is reversed and the Town chiefs and their following are drowned by the *avanyo* summoned by the outcast little boys.

Rosita of San Juan, "so not to have hard times our grandfather tells us to mind our elder brothers (*pa^are*). If we do not mind them, they will call us to the kiva, where those *avanyo sendo* will kill us."⁵²⁹ Those with bad hearts and those with good hearts *avanyo sendo* will know, that is what our mothers say to us." Again in folk-tales, *avanyo* is referred to as sending a flood to swallow up the town unless the townspeople do his bidding,⁵³⁰ such as making Coyote old man the Summer chief or marrying to Coyote the Yellow Corn girls. When *pobənyo*, as Water Serpent is called at Nambé, was about to send a flood from his home in the waterfall, he was shot by the *towa é*. The horned Water Serpent of Zuñi and of the Hopi also send floods against the town.

COYOTE (*Posew'a*)

In Tewa tales, Coyote old man (*posew'a sen^{do}*) is generally the trickster, but there are San Ildefonso tales in which Coyote acts as go-between for the kachina and the townspeople, and in the San Juan emergence myth Coyote acts as crier⁵³¹ to assemble the kachina in the east and the kachina in the west.⁵³² And Coyote has a prophetic character.

Long ago, it is said, there lived a man at San Juan who understood the words of *posew'a*. "Some *posew'a* talk lots." People would say, "Go and listen to what he says, that *akəge* (little yard dog)." When Coyote barked a lot, in summer they said rain was coming; in winter, snow. There were just a few men who understood Coyote. In the San Juan tale of the boy who was brought up by Fox or Coyote it is said that "he understood the coyote language. He knew when snow was coming and when rain was coming, and he let them [the Taos townspeople] know, and whatever he said, that way it would happen.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Dumarest, 195, 229.

⁵³⁰ Cf. Parsons, 1, 161, n.2.

⁵³¹ The crier chieftaincy of First Mesa belongs to the Coyote clan.

⁵³² Does the kachina, *Djeng sendo*, possibly represent Coyote?

Whatever the number of days he said it would snow or rain, they believed."⁵³³ In another San Juan tale, the society member who is *posew'a* is told that he has to call a little snow to cover the ground, so that the deer tracks may be seen.

At Nambé it is said that Coyote brings the news to the pueblo. It will be Coyote who will bring news of the end of the world (*nangopanahqandi*, earth sky gone). And anciently it was Coyote who warned the people that the Water Serpent in the falls was about to vomit a flood upon them.⁵³⁴

These statements or references are somewhat obscure, but they are of particular interest as perhaps pointing, if indirectly, to the guardian spirit cult of the Plains of which there is some specific knowledge at San Juan as well as at Taos. A middle-aged San Juan man said that when he was a child an Apache had sung to his father the song the Apache had learned from the animal *ohu*. Hunting in the mountains the Apache heard singing and when he approached he found somebody lying down with his arms crossed above his head. That was *ohu*, and Apache do not eat *ohu* "because they are people."

POSEYÉMU

San Juan

In Mexican, Poseyému is called Montezuma.⁵³⁵ Every seven years⁵³⁶ he sends the piñon nuts to his children. "Maybe Poseyému is the Santa Claus who brings lots of things."

This from a woman. According to the San Juan folk-tale better known to the men, Poseyému was conceived through a piñon nut. *Opa'ochutse*, World man, threw a nut into the mouth of the girl who was despised of her people. The people

⁵³³ See p. 138. Compare DeHuff, 85.

⁵³⁴ See p. 303.

⁵³⁵ As is Poshaiani of the Keres. For Poshaiani or Poshean or Poshaiyanki (Zuñi), see Parsons, 11, 262-3. For Montezuma, at Cochiti, see Dumarest, 228-231; and at Jemez, Parsons, 3, 13, n.6.

⁵³⁶ At Jemez there is the same belief about piñon being fruitful every seven years. At Isleta, it is so every five years.

wonder from whom the girl got her son, and the boys jeer at him, calling him No-Names. After he has become a deer hunter he meets his noble-looking father, who gives him fine attire, befeathered quiver and bow, and arrows, and the name of *Posew'é bi poseyému*, Dew⁵³⁷ kickball dew falls, and predicts that he is to become father to all the Indians, their ruler.⁵³⁸ The youth returns to amaze the old men with his talk, "his hard words, his good words." He predicts the coming of the Mexicans from the south and of the white people from the north. He makes the clothes they are going to import, and a buggy with elk for horses. Then he drives to a neighboring town where they are dancing kachina, but, alarmed by the stranger, proceed to hide away the kachina dancers in the kiva and to act as if nothing were going on (just as they would today). *Posew'é bi poseyému* predicts that thus they will continue to dance "below," and that in numbers they would not increase. He said that some time he was going to come back and then all the white people and the Mexicans would have to leave. He went south, and when he was to return was not known.

In a so-called Taos version of the tale given by the same narrator the girl gives birth to her baby while she is gathering piñon. The deserted baby is brought up by a coyote family. Later when he is recovered and brought back to Taos, he becomes a prophet of weather and flood and war. He foretells the death of a townsman in a raid; it happens as he says, and the kindred of the man killed impute the death to the prophet whom they call a witch and kill.

⁵³⁷ For *pose'e'* as light rain or mist or scalp, see p. 138.

⁵³⁸ "Poseyému is our god," said Benina of Nambé, and in her lore Poséyemu competes with the Catholic god. See pp. 306-307.

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

As already stated in several connections, the most prominent Tewa social classification is the moiety and for social organization the most significant habit of mind, the tendency to dichotomize. Borrowed features are fitted into the dual pattern and we may even surmise that features in neighboring cultures that are not readily adjusted to the pattern are not readily or whole-heartedly borrowed—clanship for example. Clanship is an inert form in Tewa life. There is nothing vital in it, it has no functions nor does it in any way vitalize other social expressions. Nor have we found any survivals to indicate that the principle of clanship had a sometime more vigorous life. As the clan does not occur at Taos and Picuris, occurs but is lifeless also at Jemez, occurs only in a pseudo-form at Isleta, is more vigorous among the Western Keres than among the Eastern, and is in full vigor and blossom at Zuñi and among the Hopi,—in view of this distribution must we not infer that Tewa clanship is not a decadent, but a marginal or undeveloped trait? Western clanship is closely associated with house ownership by women and with the descent of ceremonial property and position in the maternal family. House ownership in the northern pueblos tends to be male. Between the Hopi house ownership system and that of Taos there is a great contrast in practice and theory, with the territorial gap between filled in by the practice and theory of the other pueblos in house ownership in a way curiously corresponding to their distribution of clanship practice and theory. Among the Tewa about two-thirds of the houses—perhaps more—are owned by men and what theory there is on the subject favors male proprietorship. In the West, ceremonial property is associated with the house as well as with the clan or its subdivision, the maternal family. Care of the fetiches in the house is incumbent upon the senior woman of

the household. She must know how to "feed" them, to look after them, just as her brother or son must know their rituals completely, which knowledge is of the essence of chieftaincy. In the East, towards the North, ceremonial property is less and less associated with the house, the ritual functions of women decrease, ceremonial office is filled less and less by descent, the societies are recruited by dedication at birth, by vow in sickness, by trapping through trespass, all methods familiar in the West too, but of subordinate import. Among the Tewa these recruiting methods for ceremonial organization preclude any principle not only of maternal descent, but of paternal, except in a general way in connection with the Town chieftaincies. The moieties are based on paternal descent and their chiefs, who are the Town chiefs, the Summer Men and the Winter Men, are appointed within the moiety, but not within a paternal family. The tendency towards patriliney in the North has not developed a paternal family corresponding to the maternal family of the matrilineal West. The most it has done is to give the clans borrowed by the Tewa a patrilineal cast, erratically at that.

Other features in the social organization besides clanship have been borrowed, from the South I surmise, by the Tewa, namely the *kwirano* society which at Nambé, at least, is said definitely to derive from Cochiti, and the curing societies, related by their names of Fire and Flint to the two most widespread curing groups of the Keres, and using familiar Keresan ritual and ideology. These organizations, by the way, also show some traces of subjection to the dualizing partiality of the Tewa, the *kwirano* in their association with the *kossa*, and the restriction of the doctors to two groups. Among the Keres and at Zuñi the curing societies are manifold.

Another borrowing by the Tewa—the kachina cult or rather some of its more conspicuous expressions such as mask and prayer-stick. Again the western pueblos are a centre of distribution, for mask dances and ceremonials, and for elaborate prayer-stick rituals, all of which diminish in significance until in

Taos we find prayer feathers, but no prayer-sticks, and the use of masks, of a very crude type at that, only by the Clown society. Our knowledge of the kachina cult among the Tewa is fragmentary, but there is little doubt from what we have learned that with one exception it is entirely Keresan in character, only less elaborate. The exception, as one might have guessed, is in describing certain kachina as belonging to the Summer people, and others, as those of the Winter people. Something analogous to this classification is seen among the Eastern Keres when their dance groups are associated with their twofold kiva system, which is a reflex, I think, of Tewa moiety influence.

And now, in connection with the kachina cult, I cannot forebear indulging in some reconstructive speculation, which has been much fortified by impressions got from the Tewa, on the hypothesis that the cult has been built up on an acculturation between native ideology of spirit rain makers or chiefs and the practices of warrior-like burlesquers of the Plains Indian type of military society,⁵³⁹ between these pre-Spanish elements and Catholic saint ideology and rituals, including dancing, and Spanish burlesque and religious drama. Let me show some of the evidence, dwelling in particular on the Tewan. Kachina and saints are alike the dead, sending rain, bestowing blessings, more particularly fertility, in crops and offspring, making cures. They have once lived among men, and some day there will be a second coming. To their images or representations (saints' figures, kachina dolls, kachina masks) even now they return. They expect offerings. They entertain vows. They confer personal names. Fasting and continence are expected of those they are to possess, whether *padre* or "fathers" in retreat or kachina dancers. Kachina dancing may be with or without mask. The dances without mask are very much like the dances in honor of the Saint. Among the Tewa and at Isleta, kachina

⁵³⁹ Black Eyes of Taos, Tewa *kossa*, Jemez *tabösh* and *tsunta tabösh*, Keres, *koshare*, Isleta Black Eyes and Red Eyes, Zuñi *ne'wekwe*, Hopi Singers and *wöwö-chimtu*.

dances without mask are particularly notable. And here, too, as well as among the Eastern Keres, dancing in church has been in vogue. Burlesque devils and giants in masks are a character of Spanish saint day dancing (there are other maskers too)⁵⁴⁰ and at Alcalde we have noted in the Mexican performance of *matachina* the presence of the Grandfather and Grandmother, *abuelo* and *abuela*. These figures appear by the same name with but little change in the Tewa towns and at Cochiti, in their *matachina*. At San Juan other *abuelos* or *tsabiyu* appear at the Turtle dance, a maskless kachina dance. These *tsabiyu* show in mask and general array a step towards the kachina type and impersonators are by moiety and hold office for life. At Isleta the Grandfathers (*te'en*), wear the only masks the Isletans

⁵⁴⁰ This from Alaró, Balearics: On the day of the Assumption—August 15—and the day following, that of the patron of the village, dancers take the chief part. Six men or boys in fantastic white costumes decked out with many colored ribbons at the elbows, shoulders and knees, and caps trimmed with flowers, and about as many other boys or men dressed as girls, who hold in one hand a fan, in the other a handkerchief, form in procession. There are two *demonios*, clad in rough hemp stuff, stained with wine or of wine color spotted all over with grey spots. These devils wear masks, and on their heads is a hood with the ears and horns of the ox, a long tail with bells at its end wagging about behind. Their feet are naked. One heads the procession, with a pole eight feet long, the flower stem of an aloe, with which he clears the way and drives off the too curious or too irreverent. His companion brings up the rear with a like pole. Behind the devil leader come the musicians, a drummer, who also plays a flute, and a tambourine player. Then the dancers, the *cosiers*. . . . The tabernacle of the Virgin is borne out, the devils opening the way, springing about, a target for the biscuits and sweets the children throw at them. . . . Every square of the village is visited in turn, and danced in, the final dance about the Virgin at the altar. . . . Young men send sweets to the girls in the houses by the *cosiers* who caper as they go. . . . In the evening the *cosiers* go to girls' houses and escort them to the church, giving them holy water. . . . Dance in front of altar. . . . Races in general, and by *cosiers*. . . . In conclusion the *cosiers* dance before the most important and generous houses which the two demons enter for donations of food or money. . . . At Felanitx five giant masks figure. (Chamberlin, 109–112).

In reading this account I cannot help recalling my early impressions of *koko awia*, the Spirits come, or "*shalako*" at Zuñi as a Christmastide celebration. Now, after impressions from the Eastern pueblos, I could reconstruct in a measure what happened at Zuñi. But that does not belong here.

use.⁵⁴¹ The Isletan Grandfathers form a ceremonial group, the head of which is the Town chief, with four regular impersonators from one moiety, four from the other. These Grandfathers come out to play for one of the maskless kachina dances.⁵⁴² I hazard the suggestion that the cotton-mask wearing *gumeyosh-koyemshi*⁵⁴³-*koyimsi* of the western Keres, of Zuñi and of the Hopi, are derived from the *abuelos*.

The *tsabiyu* of the Tewa is a mountain cave dwelling, child cannibalistic bugaboo. The same being by the same name is found at Taos, Isleta, and among the Keres, where he is still called Grandfather and thought of as half Mexican and half Pueblo. This is the *atoshle* (an obsolete term for Grandfather) of Zuñi, but now Grandfather is an out-and-out kachina, as is his Hopi homologue, *suyuku*. If *abuelo* can develop into a kachina, may not other kachina have had their prototypes in Mexican horned demons and giants, the *shalako*, the *sayatia*, *chakwena*? As an illustration of how readily a fetichistic character may be given a mask, indubitably Spanish,⁵⁴⁴ turn to the bull impersonation at the Pecos saint day performance at Jemez, where the "bull" wears prayer-feathers and is meal-besprinkled.

Line kachina dancers as well as side-line dancers are paralleled in such a Mexican dance as the *matachina* with their masks or pseudo-masks, their sticks, their male impersonations of female parts, their attendant burlesquers. The religious-historical dramas of the Spanish would obviously be far less

⁵⁴¹ The only masks known at Taos belong to the clown group. One is lost, the other is guarded as a precious fetich, and not worn in public.

⁵⁴² For another maskless kachina dance the clowns are called *k'yapio* (*kossa*, *koshare*).

⁵⁴³ Note the Adam and Eve incest story of the origin of the *koyemshi*, the *aklashi* or old ones; note the fact that their magic power over the people is due to their possession of bits from people's footprints, a European notion, and that their power in general is of a witch-like kind, in particular that one of their sanctions is being kicked by a horse.

⁵⁴⁴ See Chamberlin, 111-112, for the horse mask. A horse mask appears at San Domingo and I have heard of one figuring at Santa Clara.

readily reproduced by the Indians, their own myth elements would be their dramatic elements, such as the disappearance of the Corn maidens (Zuñi, *molawia*), or the advent of new clans (Hopi Flute ceremony); but just as the Pueblo novelistic folktales show general Spanish influence, so, I surmise, may the dramatic ceremonials of the western pueblos. The coming and going kachina ceremonials of the western pueblos may have been suggested by Advent, by All Souls and All Saints and even by Lent, and the fire-making drama of the advent of Shulawitsi (Zuñi, Laguna, Acoma) possibly finds a prototype in the fires of the Navidad, fires lit by Tewa as well as by Mexicans.

But before I began this speculation on the kachina cult I stated that the cult had been borrowed by the Tewa, from the Keres, borrowed, I should have said, in its efflorescent latter-day form. This is, I think, what happened: the beginnings of the acculturation between Pueblo and Spanish I have been analyzing took place in the eastern pueblos as well as in the western, or at least at Zuñi. In the East, assimilation did not develop beyond a certain point: with the continuous presence of the Catholic missions, and an increasing number of Mexican neighbors, Catholic ideology and Catholic rituals held their own distinctively; whereas at Zuñi the European influence was comparatively slight, so that early in the nineteenth century even the mission lapsed. Catholic theory and practice were taken over into the native life and made over much more thoroughly than in the East. From Zuñi the assimilated product spread, to the Hopi, to the East. In other words, we find in the East two layers of acculturation, so to speak, in ceremoniology as in folk-lore,⁵⁴⁵ the older, Eastern layer, and the layer from the West, of which the mask cult is the most notable part.

⁵⁴⁵ Parsons, 4, 4.

APPENDIX

FOLK-TALES FROM NAMBÉ⁵⁴⁶

How the Blue Corn Girls Escape Flood and Found Nambé

Owewehambaiyo at Nambé *hyochute'e* (green corn kiva) lived *hutsimbukwiyo* (Shrivelled corn old woman), *uruto sendo*, (Crook prayer-stick old man), and their daughters, *kuntsanyo-anyo*, Blue corn girls. Crook prayer-stick old man used to make cigarettes. He would go to work every day at *sawqakehinde* (sandstone, neck, pointed)⁵⁴⁷ to make cigarettes. This he did all the time. One day an old Cloud man, *uxo sendo*, came around. He looked about and walked like a Cloud man. When Crook prayer-stick old man saw him, *uxo sendo* called, Ho! ho! ho! like the *kossa*. Crook prayer-stick old man said, "What are you doing around here? What news have you?" He kept on walking. He moved around a cedar and came out as *sawqadi*⁵⁴⁸ (sandstone pointed). Crook prayer-stick old man got mad. He said, "I was not after you, *sawqadi*, I was after *uxo sendo*." He got a cigarette and threw it at the bird and missed it, and he kept on throwing his cigarettes, and then one fell on the bird and he turned to *uxo sendo*. He said, "*Ehé ehé, uruto sendo*," and he whipped him with his yucca blades. "Why are you so angry? What news have you?" said Crook prayer-stick old man. "Yes, I have some news. They sent me from the big lake to bring some news. The news is for you to get ready. You must tell all your pueblo that the world is going to be full of water in four days. [He meant four years.] You must tell all the people to get ready to wear all their good clothes. Now you must be watching." [Crook prayer-stick old man was the Sum-

⁵⁴⁶ These tales were recorded after my general collection of Tewa tales was in proof.

⁵⁴⁷ See Harrington, 2, 374.

⁵⁴⁸ Unidentified bird.

mer Man.] "On the fourth day the beams will have leaves; everything will be green." Then the Summer Man watched, and on the fourth day nothing happened. "I guess he meant years," he said. So he watched one year pass, then the second, then the third, and the beams began to leaf out. On the fourth year all the beams had leaves. Crook prayer-stick old man and Shrivelled Corn old woman told their two girls to bathe themselves at night and Shrivelled Corn old woman put a little jar to boil on the fire, and into it she put two little plants. She brought in a big clay jar and poured water from the little jar into it and the tub filled half way up with water. Then she called her daughters, Blue Corn girls, and bathed first one and then the other. She told them to put on their wrapped moccasins⁵⁴⁹ and their *koapoa'* (native dress) and blanket (*tsehga*) and their turquoise earrings and their red beads and their *tsehta* (white shell). She brought out a great basket in which they both could stand and she stood them in it. Their hair was fastened behind their ears (*betsiri*). Shrivelled Corn old woman took out her bowl of medicine and her *eyisqwe* (abalone shell blue). Crook prayer-stick old man and Shrivelled Corn old woman each brought out their turquoise seat⁵⁵⁰ (*kunyæ puwere*), and sat down by the basket. Each had their eagle feathers in their right hand, and in their left, their rattle. First Shrivelled Corn old woman put her feathers into the medicine water and sprinkled the girls and then Crook prayer-stick old man did the same. Then they shook their rattles and started at *wari*⁵⁵¹ to sing:

hæ n̥atsa na tamu æ opaochu tsipohpenu⁵⁵² nain
 there it is al- dawn coming universe green *tsipohpenu* we two
 ready
 coming

⁵⁴⁹ *Puyeanto'*, deerskin shoes or wrapped moccasins, in distinction to *anto'se'* (shoes narrow or boots of the northern type).

⁵⁵⁰ A seat of turquoise was possessed by the Summer Man of Nambé, and a seat of mica by the Winter Man, *ku'atsa*, stone shining. Wind is said to have a seat of the kind of white stone of which beads are made. (Parsons, 4, 97).

⁵⁵¹ Morning Star rise.

⁵⁵² "He has gone to *tsipohpenu*" is said of one at death.

diwoatuye
take us both into life

At the first song they rose in their basket so high (indicating four feet). Then Crook prayer-stick old man and Shrivelled Corn old woman sprinkled their medicine water, shook their rattles, and sang again. The Blue Corn girls rose above the roof of the house. At the third song, they rose still higher; at the fourth song, the foam of the water that was flooding the earth pushed them up into *opamakore*, the sky, where there was a place like this.

"Now, sister, where shall we go?" said the younger to the older. The older saw a little house and smoke coming out. "Sister, somebody is living there." It was *akwiasaya* (Spider woman grandmother), and she had a son who was out trapping blue jays (*seh*). So the Blue Corn girls went to the house, and grandmother Spider woman was sitting by the fire-place alone. She said, "*Tsængitsamu*. Yes, Blue Corn girls, you are the daughters of Shrivelled Corn old woman and Crook prayer-stick old man. Come in and sit down." The Blue Corn girls asked, "Where is our brother?" "Your brother is out trapping birds." (Spider woman and Spider boy (*awæ enu*) called the jays Navaho and they were afraid of them.) She had a very little pot boiling by the fire place and in it a little bird. Spider woman asked if they were hungry. "Yes, we have been traveling since *wari*." Spider woman brought out a pile of blue and white and red wafer-bread and from the little pot she poured out the soup and bird and their bowls filled up and they ate and they did not finish the stew. After they finished eating, they asked her for blue corn and Spider woman brought out two baskets of corn. They shelled it. They said, "Mother, we are going to grind before our brother comes home." So they started to grind and before Spider boy came they finished, and Spider woman was very happy. Spider boy came and called, "*Saiya, hætoge*, Grandmother, here goes!" She held out her blanket and he threw down all his blue jays. She took her *pategeenu*, poker

boy, and whipped all the blue jays. The Corn girls said, "Spider woman, do not do that! These are *po'kano* (wild creatures)." Then Spider woman and Spider boy became *tseoke* (face, ? hard i.e., scalp-dancers). The Blue Corn girls cried because Spider woman and Spider boy became *tseoke*. And they picked up the birds, they were not afraid of them, and cooked them and ate them. But Spider woman and Spider boy would not eat them. Next day the Blue Corn girls said to Spider boy, "Today you take us, brother, to hunt birds." And they went along with him. After they put up the traps, they sat down. After a while some *anyoe*⁵⁵³ came around and were caught. Spider boy was happy picking them up, and he set up the traps again. Next came the *koiye* (red-throated birds, coming in the snow). He put up the traps again. "Here they come again! Here they come again! Be quiet, my sisters, be quiet!" Then the blue jays came. And he cried and hid himself. "No, brother Spider boy, these are not Navaho, these are jays." The Blue Corn girls went and picked up the birds. Spider boy would not come close to them because they had the blue jays. When they got up on top of the house, he called. Spider woman came running and held up her blanket and he dropped down his birds. She was very happy over Spider boy's birds. Then Blue Corn girls dropped down the blue jays and Spider woman went and hid herself, first in one corner, then in another. The Blue Corn girls came down. "Do not hide, our mother Spider woman, they are not Navaho, they are blue jays. They wont hurt you." Spider woman got her poker and hit them. The Blue Corn girls ate them, and Spider woman and Spider boy ate the other birds. The Blue Corn girls stayed on for four more days. They ground all kinds of flour for Spider woman and Spider boy. Spider boy made moccasins for them, both kinds of moccasins. They kept on grinding—blue corn, white, and red. After four days they said, "Spider Grandmother, we are

⁵⁵³ *'Oñu'e*. Henderson and Harrington, 46. "Perhaps a species of black bird."

thinking of going to our house. We want to see our mother, Shrivelled Corn old woman, and our father, Crook prayer-stick old man, and all our relations." They turned their back and took from their dress some meal and tobacco, to give Spider woman to take them down. They said, "Here is the cigarette (*poæsa*) and meal. We want to go and see our parents." Spider woman took the cigarette and meal into her little room, where she had her medicine lake [bowl]. She brought out a little acorn. She told Spider boy to go around to every house—this was a Spider pueblo—to ask for spider threads from each house and to make a big ball of them. Spider boy went all around the houses and in his hand he took some corn meal and tobacco and at each house he gave a pinch and asked for spider threads. Spider woman said to the Blue Corn girls, "Now, my girls, if you are ready, let's go." And they went to the same place they had come up through (*opakere*). Spider woman said, "Can you see there at Nambé *kunochutu' nangtsipupinge* (sand navel middle) *kukaiye sendo*⁵⁵⁴ (stone spirit old man)? There are your mother and father and all your relatives (*matutowa*). Just see! I am going to take you down, but be careful and don't you look up! If one of you looks up, the thread will part and you will fall down." Spider woman had much *pinan*, and the Blue Corn girls got into the acorn cup and stood with their arms around each other so as not to fall. Spider woman began to pray and let them down and down and down until the younger one said, "Sister, look up at grandmother." Spider woman said, "Grandchildren, don't you look up! If you look up, I will drop you down." "No, no, no, grandmother, we won't look up again." She dropped them to where their people were. They took them up in their hands and wept, saying, "This is my mother, this is my father, these are my relations." They picked up the stones and wept. Then the Blue Corn girls dug a hole and in it put their mother and father and relations and on top they put

⁵⁵⁴ The flat stone shrine in the middle of the plaza.

kukaiye sendo. Then they ordered the pueblo as it should be, they put the houses there and the kiva. They had lots of *pinang*. Next day at dawn in every house women were grinding and singing. A little later smoke came out from the houses and the people began to visit and to say good morning. The men were coming from the hills where they had gone to feed their gods and from the river where they had gone to bathe. The whole pueblo was alive and happy. . . . We Nambé people are the children of the Blue Corn girls.

*The Envious Corn Girls*⁵⁵⁵

Owewehqbayo, long ago it happened, at⁵⁵⁶ *kuochete'e*, corn green building, they lived, *kqtsanyoanyq* (corn blue girls), *kq-tseyeanyq* (corn yellow girls),⁵⁵⁷ *kqtuwianyq* (corn all colors girls). *Kontsaianyq* (corn white girls) were always grinding. Blue Corn girls and Yellow Corn girls and All Colors Corn girls came together and talked about asking White Corn girls to grind with them. White Corn girls⁵⁵⁸ were married to Tininipowienu, Olivella flower boy. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, All Colors Corn girls were jealous of White Corn girls. They wanted their husband. White Corn girls did not want to go to grind at their house. They told them they had their own grinding-stones. The others tried to make White Corn girls come. They said, "We could not make them come to grind, but we will invite them to come to get water at *potsaipokwime*⁵⁵⁹ (water

⁵⁵⁵ Told by a San Juan man, with Nambé interpreter.

⁵⁵⁶ Sounded by Nambé interpreter as *hu*.

⁵⁵⁷ *Tsqgi* means the same. In spite of the order for the Corn girls followed in the tale, the narrator knew that All Colors or Speckled Corn girls belonged above, to the zenith.

⁵⁵⁸ Here the interpreter slipped into the singular which she used throughout the rest of the story. She insisted, however, that there were always two girls. There being no dual number in English, no doubt the singular is easier to manage than the plural. Until the final incidents of the story where the plot itself seems to require the singular I am keeping to the plural.

⁵⁵⁹ On the north side of San Juan, one of the sacrosanct springs giving water for medicine and pigments.

white lake). Their father was *uruto sendo* (Crook prayer-stick old man) and their mother was *kutsimbukwiyo* (Shrivelled corn old woman). They said, "I don't know what is going to happen to you, my children. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, All Colors Corn girls are coming every day to your house." They said to their mother that the girls were just coming to see them, they did not intend any thing bad. So then their mother said again, "If you do not want to tell us, it is your fault. But we think they are trying to do something to you." White Corn girls would not pay any attention to their mother. So the old woman went back to her own house and left the White Corn girls in their house. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, All Colors Corn girls were just watching for the old woman to leave the White Corn girls' house. Then each picked up her water jar. They said, "We will see how we can make them go for water." They went to their house. They left their water jars by the house and went in. They told them, "We came to invite you to go for water with us. We have been inviting you to grind with us, and you would not go. Now we want you to go with us for water, and be our sisters." They persuaded them and they said, "Yes, we will go with you." So they took their water jars. They all went together to get water at White Water lake. When they got there, the other girls told the White Corn girls to fill their jars first. But they told the others they were not willing to fill first. White Corn girls said, "You invited us to come. Blue Corn girls, you are the oldest, next Yellow Corn girls, next Speckled Corn girls, and we are the youngest." The girls were going to push the White Corn girls into the lake if they had filled their jars first. So White Corn girls said, "If you do not fill your jars first, we are going home." Then the Blue Corn girls took hold of their blankets and said, "Come back! We will fill ours first and we will go home together." So Blue Corn girls filled their jars first; then Yellow Corn girls filled theirs; then Speckled Corn girls, theirs; and last White Corn girls, theirs. After they got their jars filled White Corn girls

were going to start. The others said, "Let us stay here and talk." So the White Corn girls put down their jars. The others said, "You see we do not want to beat you badly. So let us grind tomorrow early in the morning. Blue Corn girls will grind blue corn and Yellow Corn girls will grind yellow corn and Speckled Corn girls will grind speckled corn and you will grind white corn, and whoever grinds the best corn will live with Olivella flower boy." White Corn girls said, "We know you have been inviting us to grind corn with you for a long time, but we did not know what you intended by it. We are the youngest of you all, and we may not be able to grind as much as you. Still we may as well say yes." Then they were all very glad and they took their jars and went back home. White Corn girls went into their house with their jars and the other girls went to where they lived all together. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, All Colors Corn girls were glad, and took out their corn. They said, "We are sure they can not grind as much as we, so we shall take away their husband." White Corn girls got out some white corn and got ready their basket. As they were getting ready, their mother came in and said, "What has happened to you, my children? Neither this morning nor this evening have you been in to see us. I guess Blue Corn girls have persuaded you into something. You are getting ready this corn." "No, we are going to make *hæboa*."⁵⁶⁰ Their mother said, "You never tell me the truth. If something happens it will be up to you." "No, they did not make us believe anything." It became late and White Corn girls made ready to go to bed. But Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls and Speckled Corn girls were making fun and waiting for *wari* to come (Morning Star rise). When dawn came they—Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls—went to get White Corn girls at their house. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls had four grinding-stones. When they came to their house they

⁵⁶⁰ Ceremonial meal which is coarsely ground.

said, "Now each will take one stone to grind. Whoever finishes first and grinds the finest flour will get Olivella flower boy." White Corn girls said, "All right. We said already it would be all right, so we have to do what you say." Then they started to grind. They went into the grinding-room. There they stood in a row behind the stones. They counted one, two, three, four, and they all started to grind. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls said, "We are going to roll up our sleeves. Why don't you roll up yours?" they said to White Corn girls. "No. We are just going to keep on grinding." They went on grinding. The flour of the Blue Corn girls was not ground as finely as that of the White Corn girls. They came and saw it was more finely ground and they tried to grind more finely. When they had ground half of their basket, White Corn girls said, "Let us stop and have a little lunch. Maybe by that time 'the day of the Lord (?) will come'." They wanted the White Corn girls to go into another room to eat. But they did not want to go in. "Do not be afraid to go in!" They went into the other room. Blue Corn girls said, "Keep on eating, we are going out to fix our grinding-stones." When they went out they changed the fine flour of White Corn girls into flour less fine. Blue Corn girls told Yellow Corn girls and Speckled Corn girls not to ask any question. But they asked what they were doing. So Blue Corn girls said, "We went out to mix White Corn girls' flour with ours. Do not ask questions." White Corn girls knew what they were doing to them. White Corn girls had *pinq*, so their flour came back to their grinding-stones. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls did not know why White Corn girls were grinding so fine. "You are the smallest and your stone is the best." So White Corn girls said, "If you think our stones are the best, we will take your stones." Then White Corn girls took other stones, and kept on grinding and their flour was still the finest. When the day of the Lord came, White Corn girls' corn was the finest and they were first to finish. Each girl brought in her cloth and tied in it the basket of flour. They

put their baskets in a row on the floor. Blue Corn girls told them, "Now we are through with our flour. We shall be the first to go to Olivella flower boy and then, if our flour is the finest, we shall marry him. So we are going to dress in our best clothes." They went into their room and put on their best dresses, their blue blankets (*tsega*) and their boots. They arranged their hair in two braids and put on turquoise earrings and their red hard beads (*kwaapike*). They went to Olivella flower boy's house, and Olivella flower boy was working at making *tsega*. They said to him, "*Sængi hamu*," He said, "Very well." Blue Corn girls said, "Now, Olivella flower boy, we have come here with our baskets of blue flour to know if you like our flour and wish to have it and be our husband." Olivella flower boy said to them, "When did you have your corn ready?" "Yesterday." "And when did you grind it?" "At morning star rise (*nawari*)."

"If you had your corn ready yesterday and you ground it this morning, I think I will not be your husband." Blue Corn girls did not say anything. They were angry and they took their basket and went back to their house. As soon as they came, the girls asked what had happened. Blue Corn girls said, "Olivella flower boy said we were too slow, and we might not feed him in time." They told Yellow Corn girls, "Now it is your turn to go." They were ready, dressed in their nice clothes. They took their baskets and went, and they put on yellow blankets and went to Olivella flower boy's house. They said, "Good morning, Olivella flower boy." Olivella flower boy said, "Good morning, Yellow Corn girls, walk in!" So they stepped in and said, "Here we have brought you our yellow flour. See how you like it. If you like it, you will be our man." "Bring your basket near to me." He took a pinch of it. He said, "Your flour is not fine enough. While I am eating your flour, I might starve. I will not marry you." They got mad and picked up their baskets and went out. When they got to the girls' house, they asked them what had happened. Yellow Corn girls started to cry. They told Speckled Corn girls to get

ready. They put on their best dresses and boots, their blankets of all colors, and their red hard beads, and went to Olivella flower boy's house. "Good morning, Olivella flower boy." "Good morning, Speckled Corn girls. Come in!" Speckled Corn girls said, "Here we have brought our flour of all colors. If you like it, you will be our husband." "Well, untie your flour." He got a pinch of it. It was not fine. "If your flour were finer, maybe I would be your husband. But now while I am drinking your corn meal (*aga*), I might not be working on my blanket. So I will not marry you." So they went back to the girls' house, very angry, too. They told the girls what had happened. The White Corn girls got ready. Blue Corn girls and Speckled Corn girls told White Corn girls they would let them have their turquoise earrings and red hard beads and dresses and boots. "No," they said, "we have our own things." So they put on their own white dresses and their white blankets and boots and earrings and beads. Then they went to Olivella flower boy's house. As they walked in, Olivella flower boy was working on a white blanket like the ones they were wearing. White Corn girls said, "Good morning, Olivella flower boy. Here we have brought this flour. If you like it, we will be your wives." "All right, unwrap your flour." They put it in the middle of the floor. He got a pinch of it. It was fine. "This is the kind of flour that women grind. So you will be my wives", he said. "When we feed you with this flour then you will go and get deer," they said. "Yes. You are my wives now. All that is in this house is yours. Now you are my wives. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls are going to be meaner than ever to you; but you must not listen to them." After he was married to the White Corn girls he stopped making blankets and went to the mountains for deer. Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls were watching for the time he was going out to leave the White Corn girls alone. When he went, they said, "Now let us go to their house and make them believe something to bring them here to our house and turn them into a coyote. If she is lucky she will

find something to eat, if not, she will starve to death." So they went to the White Corn girls' house. They came in and said, "Good morning, our sisters. We have not seen you since you went with your flour." "Yes. We have got married and we have not gone out because we are working." "We have come to ask you to come to our house and play *ponabe* (shinny)." "We have to wait for our husband to come, sometimes he comes before dinner and sometimes later." "We will help you cook the dinner." So they said, "We will go and play and come back and cook." They went to Blue Corn girls' house. White Corn girls did not have a stick, so Blue Corn girls went in and brought out four sticks and the one that was not very good they handed to the White Corn girls. Blue Corn girls went in and from under the beams they took out a ball. They said, "Whoever goes round the house four times will win." Then White Corn girls went around the house first and the other girls got mad with them and said, "You beat us in everything. This is going to be the last game we are going to play." They put out a *pe'tembe* (half-circle like a rainbow). They said, "We are going to jump from one side to the other. We are going to turn into something when we jump. When we jump back again, we will return to a person again." They said when they jumped over the *pe'tembe* they would be turned to an ear of corn and, on jumping back, to a person. Blue Corn girls were the first to jump and they turned to an ear of blue corn; they jumped back and became girls again. Yellow Corn girls did the same way—turned to corn, and turned back to girls—and Speckled Corn girls did the same way, turned to corn, and back to girls. Then it was the turn of White Corn girls. They stood them there to jump. "Do not be afraid. Do as we did." They jumped and turned into an ear of white corn, mother corn;⁵⁶¹ when they jumped back they turned into a coyote. The other girls laughed and said, "That is what

⁵⁶¹ *Yiakun*, mother corn, the fully kernalled ear which is used as guardian for a baby.

we wanted. Now you have to go to the mountains. If you are lucky, you will find something to eat." They called all the dogs and they chased her up to the mountains. "That is what we were wishing for you," they said. The little coyote tried to go to the mountains, but she did not know where to go. She ran beyond the dogs a little way. In the evening Olivella flower boy was coming with a big deer from the mountains. The little coyote ran up to him and rubbed her head against him and the tears were running down her face. Olivella flower boy said to himself, "This little coyote does not look like a coyote, but like a person." And the little coyote followed Olivella flower boy. When they came near to the pueblo, the dogs drove the little coyote back to the mountains. Uroto sendo had a trap up in the mountains. The little coyote was following a big coyote and she fell into the pit trap. Uroto sendo did not go to his trap for two or three days. Olivella flower boy went to his house and he did not find his wives. He went to their mother's house and did not find them. When Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls saw him coming with a deer, they picked up their jars to go for water. As they were passing his house they made fun and said, "He did not want us, now he will have a hard time without a wife with nobody to feed him." Olivella flower boy felt so sad he forgot about hunting, and just felt like sleeping day and night. White Corn girls' father and mother said to Olivella flower boy, "For a long time we were telling White Corn girls not to believe in those girls; it was their own fault if they believed. Now they have done something to them." Shrivelled Corn old woman had more *pinq* than White Corn girls. She said to Olivella flower boy, "Don't worry! We will see how we can get them back." So Shrivelled Corn old woman went to the house of the Corn girls and asked them if they had seen White Corn girls. They said, "Since they married we have not seen them. We do not know where they are." Shrivelled Corn old woman said, "You said you did not see where White Corn girl went to. From tonight we are going

to work *pinq* and we shall see if White Corn girls went away of their own accord or if you sent them away. You are the Mothers of the people, you are not the ones to treat anybody wrongly." Shrivelled Corn old woman went to her house and she got ready for *pinq*. She got ready her basket of meal and she and Uroto sendo bathed. At night they made a circle of corn meal,⁵⁶² she brought an eagle feather and put it in the middle of the circle, and both fed the corn meal to the eagle feather and prayed. As she prayed the feather began to stand up. They sprinkled water from the medicine bowl. They said to the Eagle, "Now, our Eagle man!" The feather began to turn into a little eagle and the eagle began to shake his wings. They kept feeding the eagle. "Now, our man eagle, we want you to help us. You are the only one who goes everywhere in the world. We are going to ask you to find out where the White Corn girls are."⁵⁶⁴ Then Eagle began to fly up to the roof. Then they let him out. First he flew to the north, to the end of the world looking for the White Corn girls. He could not find them. The old man and old woman kept on praying. Eagle came back and said he could not find them. Then he went to the west side, to the end of the world. He could not find them. He came back and said he could not find them. They told him to go to the south side. He went, he could not find them. He came back to the circle of corn meal and they fed him, and as he seemed tired they sprinkled him with water. Then he flew to the east side and saw that coyote in the trap where she had been starving. She could hardly stand. Eagle man said to her, "What are you doing here? You never listened to your father and mother. That's why this happened to you. Maybe through the help of your mother, you will get back to be as you were. We will try our best." So Eagle man flew down to the old woman's house

⁵⁶² Such a meal circle figures on Isleta altars.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. the Zuñi tale of sending birds to look for the lost Corn girls (Parsons 16: 392.)

and brought news that he had found the girls, as a coyote in a trap and almost starving. The old man boiled some medicine plant to wash her, and made her a person again. The old man went to his trap and found the little coyote and brought her back. And they made their *pinq* again, made their meal circle again, and their bowl of medicine water. They placed the little coyote in the middle of the circle. They sat there, they said, "Let us do our *pinq*, and see if we can turn our daughter into a person again. Our *pinq* is to do it four times." She poured from the shell, on the head of the coyote, and the skin cracked. The old man poured, and the skin cracked to the shoulders. "*Haman! haman! asihimu*, we are lucky!" The old woman poured, and the skin cracked to below the knees. The old man poured and the skin came off the feet, and she was sitting in the circle, almost starved to death. They got their eagle feather and sprinkled medicine water in her mouth and on her breast and all over her. White Corn girl was a pretty girl before, but now she was an even prettier girl than she was before.⁵⁶⁵ They said to her, "Now, our daughter, White Corn girl, now you must listen! Do not be persuaded by Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls, any more. You are the one to make *them* believe. First we are going to take you to your husband's house. He has given up hunting or working, he is just lying down day and night. You must listen. I am going to give you a little looking-glass and a grass brush (*tapu*). Just as soon as they see you, they will come for you to get water with them. You must go with them. When they come, say, 'Yes, I will go.' Put the looking-glass and the brush on the outside of your dress." So they took her to her husband. They climbed on top of the house. "You stay up here. We will be the first to tell Olivella flower boy that we have found you." When they went down, they said, "How are you, our son?" He lay without fire, looking thin and sad,

⁵⁶⁵ This is strongly reminiscent of a form of description in Hispanic tales.

just thinking of his wife. "I am glad," he said. "I thought I was never going to see my wife again. Come down!" he said. She put her boots down on the ladder. He said to her, "*Sæ-giæ!*" In this way Crook prayer-stick old man and Shrivelled Corn old woman brought White Corn girl back to Olivella flower boy. They told her never to listen to the Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls, any more. "As soon as they see you on top of the house, they will come and ask you to go and get water, and you go with them and carry the looking-glass and brush." When they came they said, "Where have you been so long? We have not seen you. We have come to ask you to get water." "Yes. Wait! I will get my shawl and my water jar. I have been here all the time, but I did not go out of my house," she said. They went with their jars and they got to Witch Water lake. As White Corn girl bent down to fill her jar first, the looking-glass and brush showed out. "Where did you get those pretty things?" they asked. "Give them to me!" "No, they are mine. I can not give them to you." "Yes, let me have it," said Blue Corn girl. So she gave them to her and Blue Corn girl looked into the glass and brushed her hair. And so did Yellow Corn girl and Speckled Corn girl and each turned into a snake—Blue Corn girl into a blue snake, Yellow Corn girl into a yellow snake, and Speckled Corn girl into a mottled⁵⁶⁶ snake. "Now I will see if you have *pinq* such as I have, and if some one will turn you back into a person as they did to me; if not, you will be rolling about in the hot sunshine of the country." So White Corn girl got her jar and came home, and left those snakes there. When White Corn girl returned to her house she told Shrivelled Corn old woman and Crook prayer-stick old man they must make *pinq* again to make Blue Corn girls, Yellow Corn girls, Speckled Corn girls, good again, to be the Mothers for the whole world again. . . . That is how we know the

⁵⁶⁶ Or *pengtūwi nanda*, with black and white spots.

snakes are mean, because they came from the corn when the corn was mean.

Hawaagamba hehædimipo, that is what happened long ago.

Tesuque Variant

They were living at K'uyemoye owinge, White Corn girl, Blue Corn girl, Yellow Corn girl, Red Corn girl, Sweet Corn girl (Pininianyo).⁵⁶⁷ Olivella Flower used to weave blankets and belts. In the day time he would not come out, only by night. All the girls gathered together in one house to grind meal to take to Olivella Flower, all except Sweet Corn girl. She was a poor girl and did not go with the other girls. They said they would not take her flour. Blue Corn girl finished grinding first and carried her flour to Olivella Flower, but he would not take it. They told Yellow Corn girl to carry him her flour. He would not take it. Red Corn girl went; he would not take her flour. Then White Corn girl went; he would not take her flour. Sweet Corn girl saw the other girls carrying their flour to Olivella Flower. So she began to grind, and the bees came and dropped their honey into the meal. She carried the flour to Olivella Flower. He tasted it, and it was very sweet. He gave it to his mother and father to taste. It was sweet. They said to Sweet Corn girl, "You stay here now." So she stayed with them, and those other girls were angry with her.

Posewa Sendo is mean to the Corn Girls

The Blue Corn girls were in their corn field. They heard somebody singing. "Sister, I wonder who is singing a very pretty song?" Posewa sendo was coming nearer. He started to sing again, a very pretty song. "Won't you sing it again?" they asked him. "No, not unless you pay me." "What shall

⁵⁶⁷ In another connection Black Corn girl was mentioned as living below, and Speckled Corn girl as living in the middle (*pinge*). There was uncertainty about her who lived in the zenith.

we pay you?" "A whole corn hill." They agreed, and he sang again. "Sing again," they said. "Not unless you pay me your wheat field." They agreed, and he sang. They said, "Sing it again." "Not unless you pay me." "What shall we pay you?" "Your bean patch." So he kept dancing and singing along the ditch. This last time when he sang the song, they got it. "This we will use to grind our corn by," they said. Then Posewa sendo whistled, calling rabbits and jack-rabbits and grasshoppers. They all came and they ate up all the crops from the fields. The Blue Corn girls cried. "Now we do not know how we shall live. We are very poor." Then they went to get clay to make pottery. They sold their pottery and in this way they got a living.

The Man Who Did Not Believe in the Cloud People

Long ago a man who did not believe in the *oxuwa* said, "If I were *oxuwa*, nobody would stop me from raining." The *oxuwa* heard him say this. When he was out in his field, he saw a little cloud in the sky, out of it came lightning. It shocked him, but it did not kill him. Then Yellow Cloud man came to get him and carried him up to Tsikomo. Yellow Cloud man said to him, "Stand up here, until I call you." There came in lots of *oxuwa*. The *oxuwa* asked him, "Did you say, 'Since I am woman-man, nobody would stop me from raining, if I were *oxuwa*?'?" "Yes. I am woman-man, I said it." They brought out a rainbow, they opened a little door to the north. He was in the midst of the *oxuwa*. He heard thunder. It started to blow hard. (Witches make wind to stop the rain.) They blew the rainbow into pieces. Wind shook the man back and forth. He was in rags, blown hard by Wind. So they said, "If you are woman-man, why don't you stop the wind now? We have a hard time, when bad people do not let us rain." They took him into their house again. They brought out the rainbow again. Then they stood him behind the *oxuwa* and he made the rain come. They kept him there for

a day. When they were going to bring him back to where Lightning hit him, they asked him, "Do you see that skin lying there?" "Yes." He was afraid of it. It was his own skin. "You need not be afraid, that is your own skin." They pushed him into it. Then he came back to life. They said, "You did not believe. Now when you go back, tell the people about it so they won't disbelieve like you. Let the Summer Man and Winter Man know what happened to you with the Cloud man." So he told them all about it,⁵⁶⁸ and to tell the rest of the people not to disbelieve like him. That is why the people are afraid of the Cloud people, to say anything against them, even if they do not believe in them.

The Man Who Did Not Believe in the Return of the Dead

One time at Nambé there was a man who said he did not believe that the dead came on All Souls Day. On that day he went out with the others to give them food.^{568a} After they had thrown the food and heard noises behind them, the boy looked behind. He saw great numbers of people wearing blankets, as when they are buried. He heard them saying, "They gave us this and that and that." They were very happy.

When the boy got home he felt bad. That night he fell sick. The next day he died. The dead took him.

*The Mask that Stuck*⁵⁶⁹

When my eldest sister was born⁵⁷⁰ [about sixty years ago] when the summer *oxuwah* were coming outside, as they used to do, during Lent,⁵⁷¹ an *oxuwah* man went into a house near the

⁵⁶⁸ Including, as was said later, the visit he paid with the *oxuwa* to Sand lake, the lake of emergence to which the dead return.

^{568a} See p. 236.

⁵⁶⁹ Compare Parsons, 4, 16-18.

⁵⁷⁰ This tale of the mask sticking to the face of one violating taboo is given at Zúñi also as an historical tale.

⁵⁷¹ The *padre* used to leave the pueblo for he knew the Indians were going to do something.

conventu. The *kossa* found him with a woman, his *hiye* (mask) on the ground. *Kossa* put it back on him, and took him back into the plaza to dance. . . . When they all went into the hills and the *kossa* tried to take off this man's mask, he could not take it off, the mask had become his face. He had become *oxuwah*, while he was still living. . . . They asked him what lake he wanted to go into. He said *moapokwinge*, sheet lightning lake (to the southeast). So all the chiefs took him there; Summer Man and Winter Man went with bundles of feather and meal, and they fed that lake. The bundle went down right away. (When the bundle goes down right away, it is good luck; the people in the lake are taking it.)⁵⁷² They cried and prayed; they counted four times—*wemu*, *wegin*, *powi*, *yonen*, and they pushed him in, and he went right down into the lake. And thus he became *Oxuwah tseyi*, Yellow Cloud man.

The Towaé Shoot Water Serpent

Powænyo was living at *pochybuge*, the waterfall on the Nambé Creek.⁵⁷³ Coyote was calling. *Pikæ* went out and fed him corn meal. Coyote said that *Powænyo* was about to send a flood from *pochybuge*. They took feathers and cigarettes and meal to the *towaé* for help. Then the two *towaé* painted themselves red and went and shot *Powænyo* just as he was about to vomit the flood.

Powænyo lives still in stone near *pochybuge*.

The Outside Chief Who Did Not Believe in the Bear Men

One time at Nambé there was a man who did not believe in the Bear men. He thought the Bear man carried what he sucked out in his bear paw. This man became *akonotoyo* (Outside chief). When they are curing, two *akonotoyo* are sent to watch the Bear men, to see if they go into a lake, or into the sky. Two Bears took the Outside chief to *samaiyo pokwinge*. Then

⁵⁷² The same notion is found at Isleta, probably elsewhere.

⁵⁷³ Cf. Harrington, 2, 346. *pochu*, water dies.

the Bears jumped into the lake. They stayed a long time. Then one Bear came out, and told the Outside chief to follow. He went behind the church; the Outside chief followed him. "My *haima*⁵⁷⁴ is going ahead," he said to the Outside chief. He went to the middle of the plaza. A real bear came out from *nangtsipupinge* (the stone shrine) and went to the east. (It was the Bear left behind in the lake.) Out from the *nangtsipupinge* came the man bear and the real bear (his partner).⁵⁷⁵ There were two bears there. The doubting Outside chief now began to believe. "Perhaps they are really bear," he said.

Nambé Witches

They did not want me^{Fr} to marry my first husband, because, said my mother, his mother's mother and her sisters were bad people,⁵⁷⁶—all the people were getting a bad cough, the little children were dying. So they had to kill her and her two sisters. They caught them.

One day my husband's grandmother was making wafer bread. The *patowa* were working that day. She took them a big basket of wafer bread and a big bone. She handed it to the Outside chief. When they were going to give her medicine water, she was gone, she did not care for their medicine water. When they all sat down to eat, one of the *pufona* had to spit his medicine around each basket. Now the dinner brought by this lady began to bubble up. So they found out that she was bad. Her dinner was the flesh of a dead child. They put it to one side. When the women came for the baskets, all had been made use of except that one basket. They handed her her

⁵⁷⁴ *Haima pufona* is their term of reference to each other. The word *haima* is from the Cochiti language and means "helper."

⁵⁷⁵ In curing sickness Bear doctors have to summon their partners, the real Bears. When they stand up to cure, they put a plant into their mouth and become real Bear. In their medicine bowl they can see where their partners have gone. Bear *sendo* will look in and say, "*Haima* is at Durango or California or up in *makore* (sky) or under ground." All of this is to be found in duplicate at Isleta.

⁵⁷⁶ They were Mexicans.

basket as she had brought it. She grew angry and took it back to her sisters. "Now they are afraid of us," she said. "We will do something bad to them." People were watching them. (The Bear men know what kind of thoughts a person has.)⁵⁷⁷ This witch woman would go to *sawakehinde*⁵⁷⁸, north of Nambé, and spend the day and night making little dolls. In their stomachs she put the seeds of chili and dirt and rags, so people would cough. One time Outside chief followed their tracks. When they started out they went as cats or dogs. At the arroyo they became people again. The Outside chief followed the tracks of the three women and of a man from Tesuque.⁵⁷⁹ The Outside chief found them making rag dolls, and putting weeds in their stomachs. The dolls had two faces, one face to make people sick, the other to take them to the graveyard. The witches were laughing and saying, "I will put chili seeds in this one." The Outside chief heard them. He climbed on top of the hill and saw them. They had a big pot.⁵⁸⁰ (The place is called *chugeybite*.) The meat boiling was from children they had killed. They dug them out of their graves. The Outside chief and an old man returned to the pueblo. The next night when it was dark, the witches went to *chugeybite*. The governor sent a lot of men and caught them. They brought them into the pueblo, to the governor's house. They tied them with cowhide rope. Next day they took them to the *conventu* and tied them. The oldest sister was tied with her hands behind her back. The man was tied with his hands under his knees, a stick between. The other woman's hands were just tied together. My husband's grandmother, my mother-in-law, asked to have her daughter called, as she was dying. They did not send for my mother-in-law Payatse.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁷ This belief in the second sight of the shaman is held at Isleta.

⁵⁷⁸ See p. 284.

⁵⁷⁹ Witchcraft is commonly imputed to a neighboring town.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. Harrington, 2, 374.

⁵⁸¹ Shortened to Pahtse, fire yellow.

"For the love of God take this *dusaio* (rosary) to Payatse," and she handed it to the Outside chief. He took it to the *poætuyo* (Summer Man) who got the Winter Man. They went into the house of the Summer Man. Between the beads was a little bag of seeds of all kinds, wheat, corn, and a little stone, which was her bad heart. They ripped open the bag and put it all into the fire. When all the seeds had cracked and everything burned up the woman died. Maybe if they had given it to her daughter, she would not have died. But they burned her heart. The other woman and man promised not to bring any more sickness into the pueblo. But the man was punished so severely that he died. They searched the clothes of the other women for their bad hearts and they found bags tied to the strings of their belts. They let the women go to their houses, but the next day the Summer Man and the Winter Man burned their bags and hearts, and the women died. . . .

My mother said to me when my husband died, "Maybe he was a witch."⁵⁸²

Poseyému and Hosita' Hold a Trial of Magic

When they came out of the Lake, *ohange pokwinge*, Poseyemu made two roads; on the west side he provided fruits, on the east side, deer and buffalo. He stopped at *nantsipupinge*. Here our Lord (Hosita') came down and shook hands with Poseyemu and asked if he was bringing his children. Poseyemu said yes. Hosita' said, "Let us see who has more people, you or I, and which one has the more sustaining food." "Yes," said Poseyemu. "My people will not increase much. They are in a round place in my hand and they will never drop out." "Yes," said Hosita', "my people are in both my hands, and they will keep dropping out." Poseyemu said to Hosita', "Put down your tables and my people will come in and eat." Hosita'

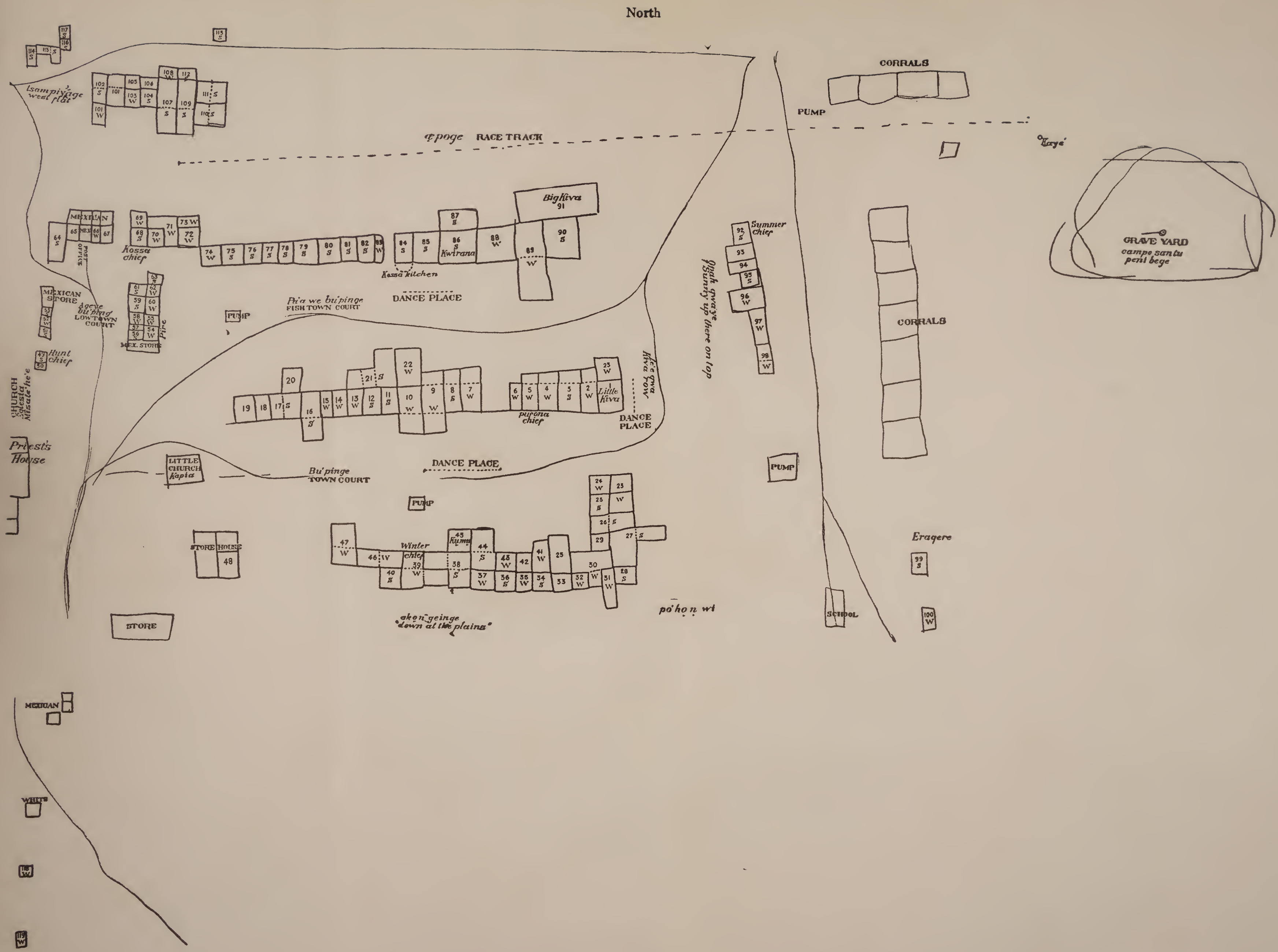
⁵⁸² A witch might turn into an owl or cat or dog to go a long way to kill somebody. Then, if somebody kills that witch animal, the sickness turns back to the witch who sent it and kills the witch.

spread lots of tables. The Indians came in and ate everything on the tables. "Now it is your turn," said Hosita'. "My custom is this way," said Poseyemu. He put down stews and breads in long lines on the ground. Then all the people came in and ate. They ate just a little and yet had enough. "You have more *pinande*," said Hosita'. Poseyemu said to Hosita', "Your children will be everywhere so numerous they will not find enough places to live in. They will live wherever there runs a little water."

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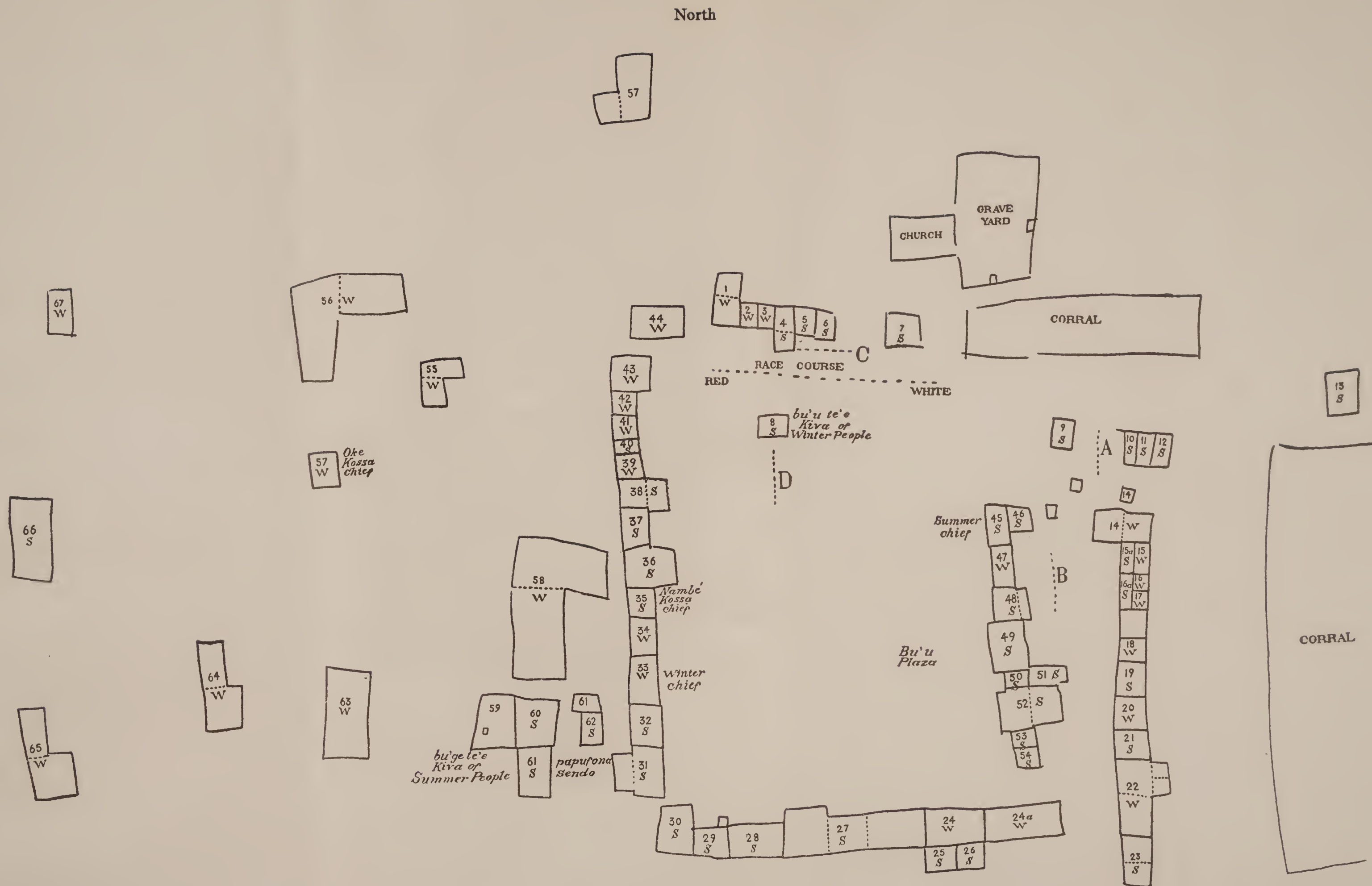
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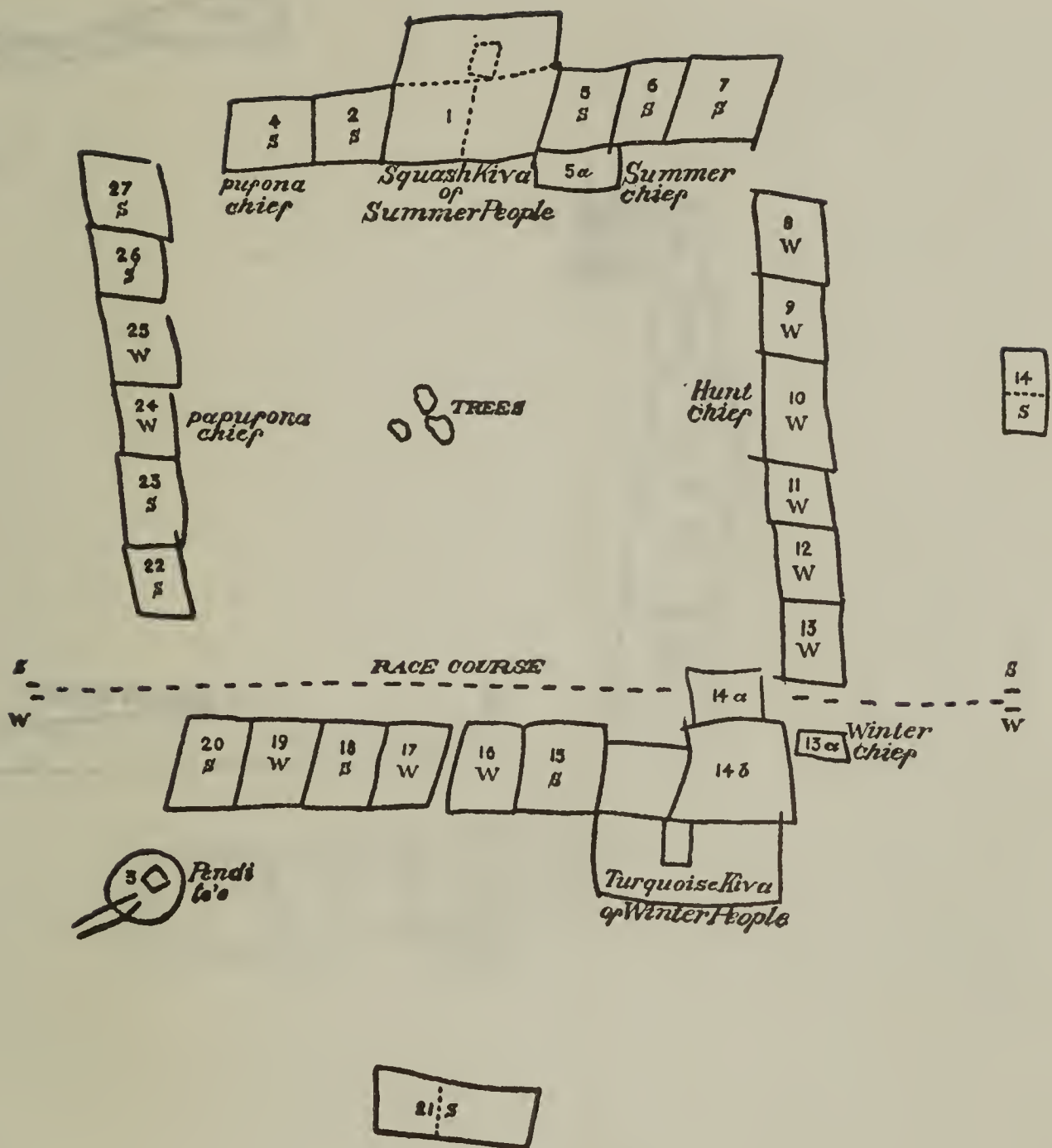


MAP 2.
Houses of San Juan.
S=Summer people; W=Winter people.
Drawn by a townswoman

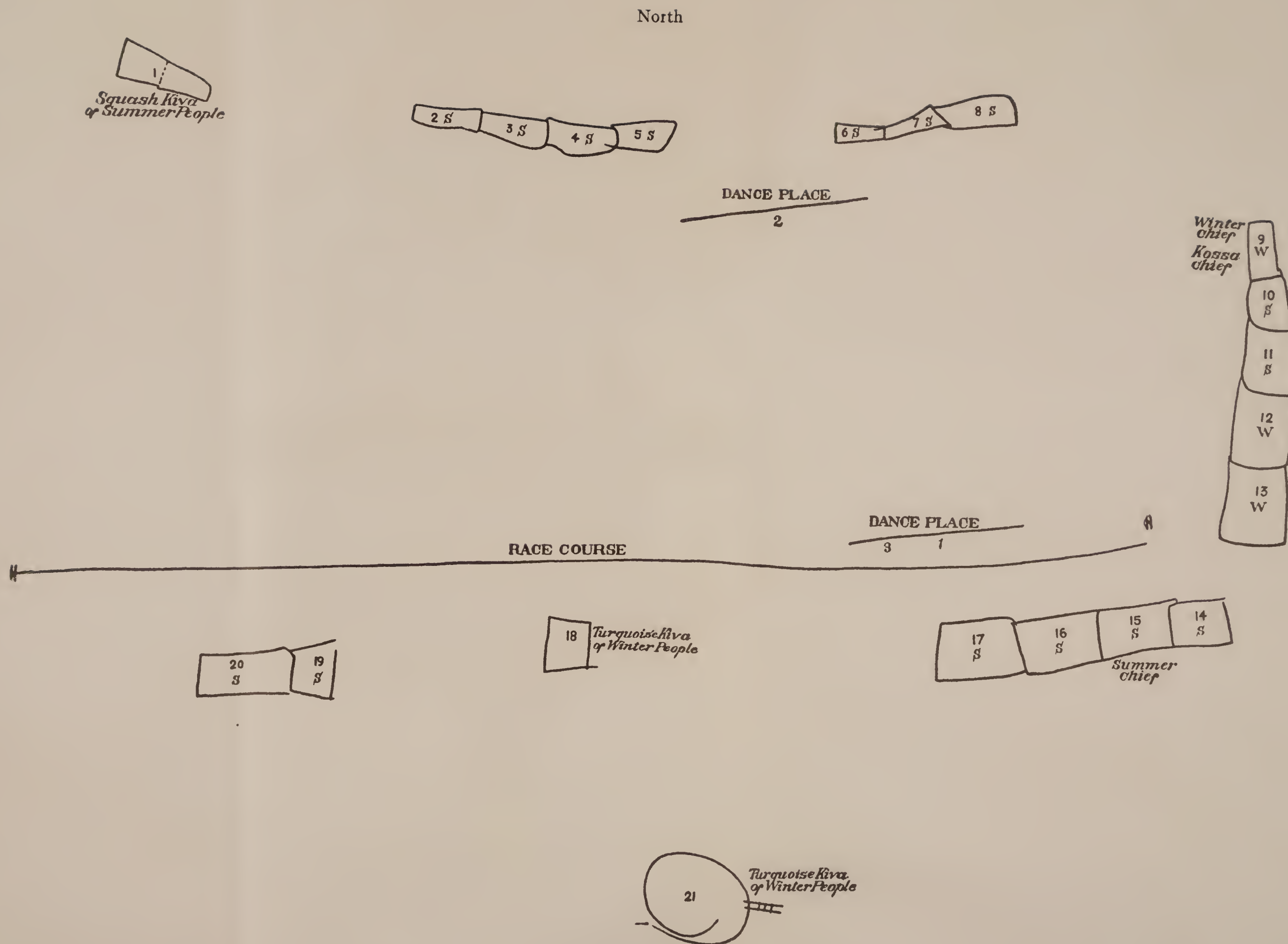




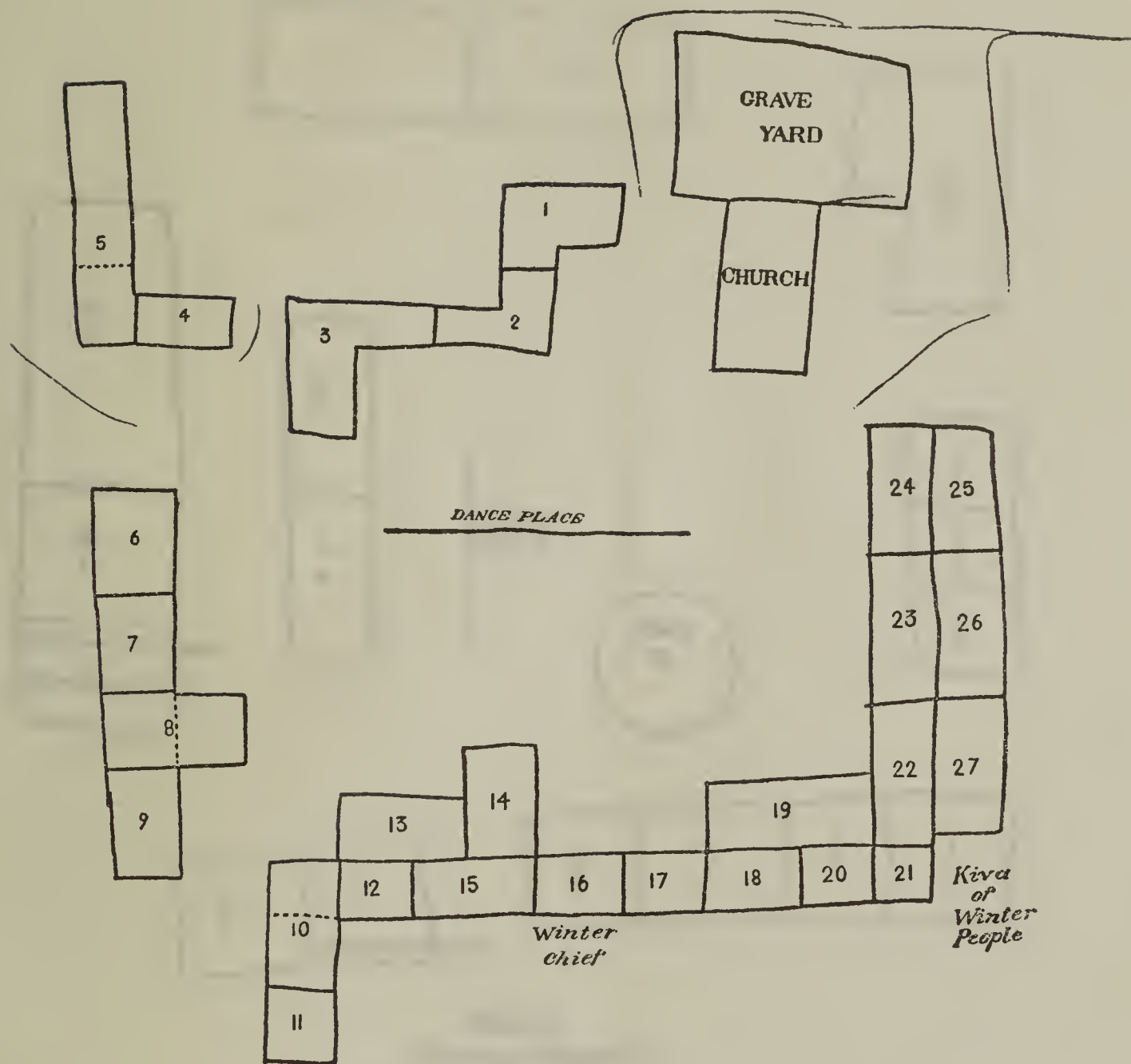
MAP 3.
Houses of Santa Clara.
A, B, C, D=dance place.
Drawn by a townswoman



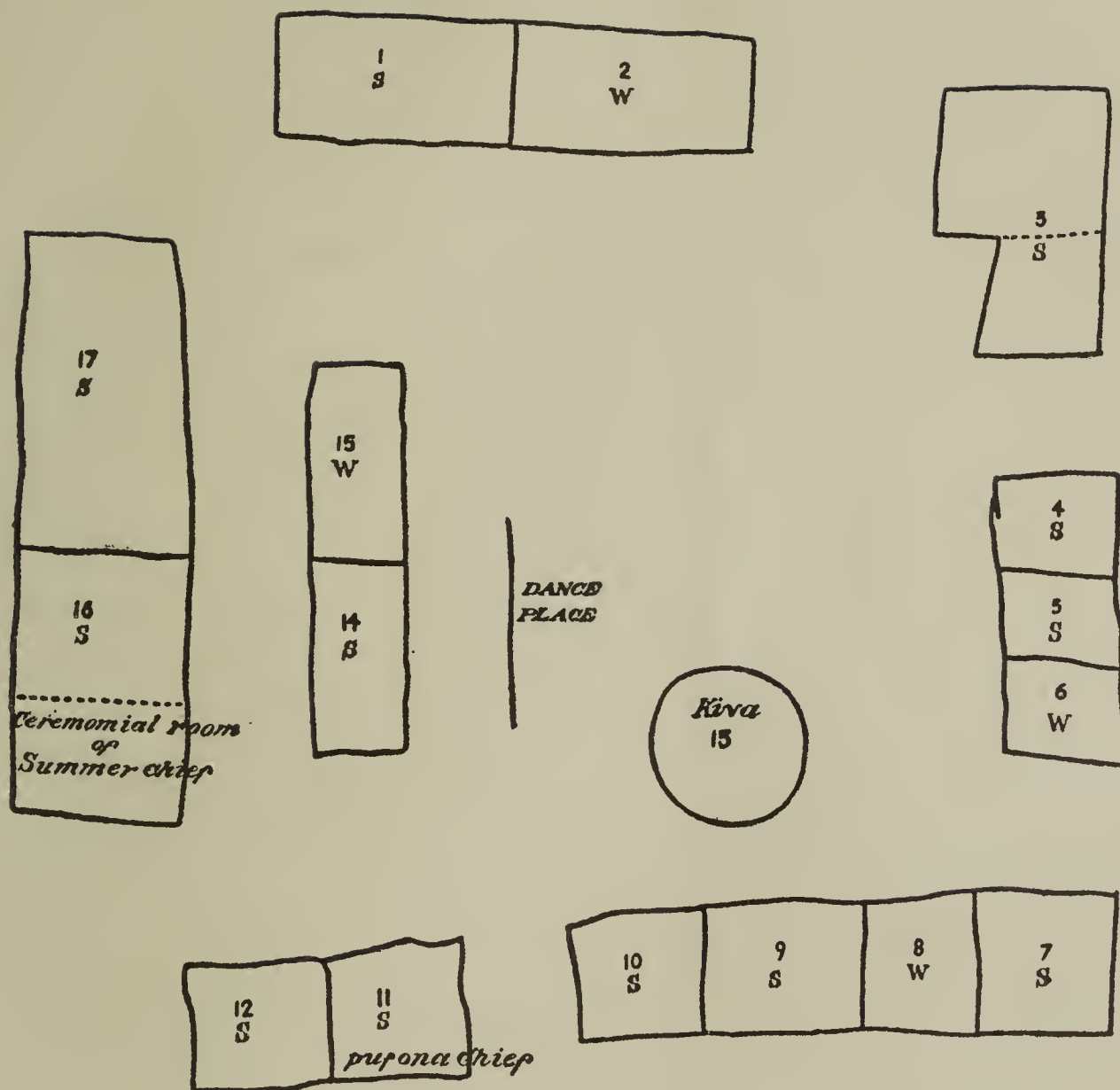
MAP 4.
Houses of San Ildefonso
Drawn by a townsman



MAP 5.
Houses of San Ildefonso.
Drawn by a townswoman



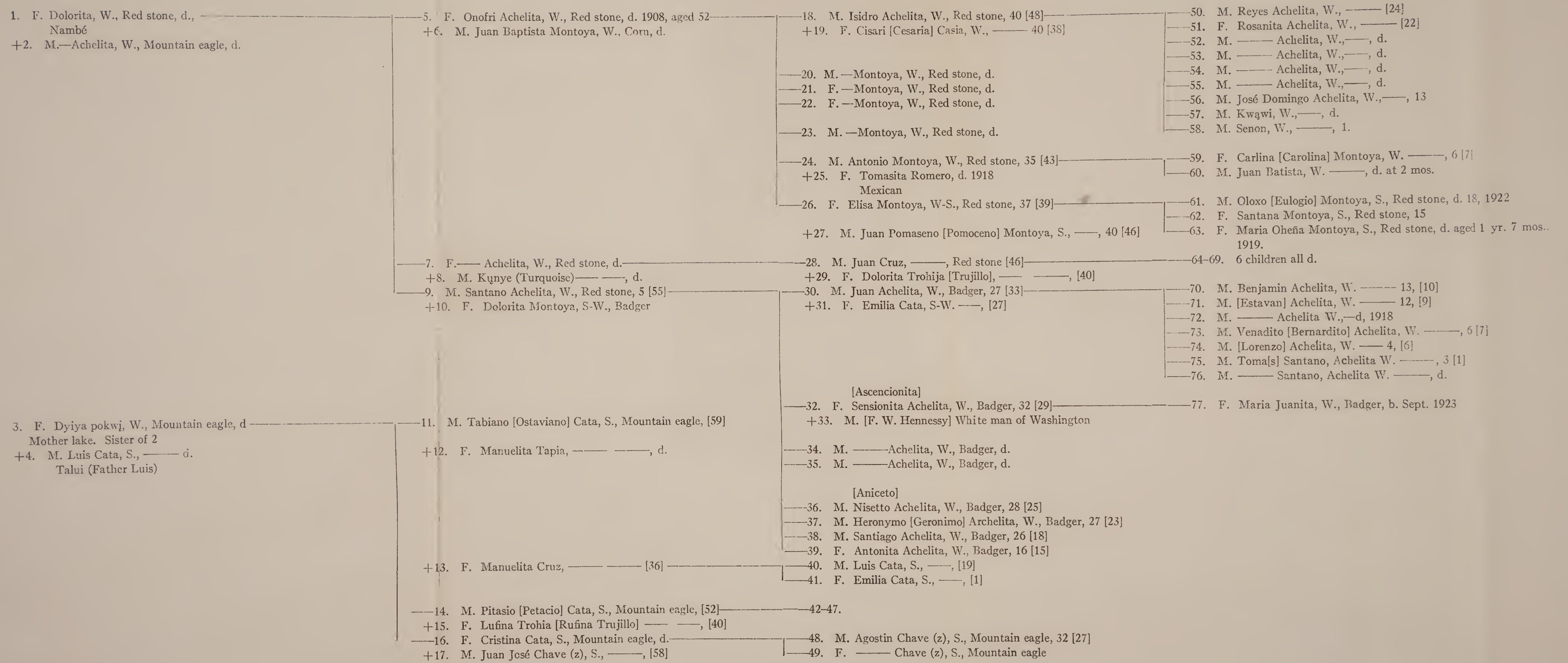
MAP 6.
Houses of Tesuque.
Drawn by a townsman



MAP 7.
Houses of Nambé.
Drawn by a townswoman

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Genealogy I



fancy, 1916

fancy, 1919

3, 1921

1

is.

	—89.	F. Tegoria Sisnero, W., Red stone, 15
	—90.	M. Elia Sisnero, W., Red stone, d. aged 5
	—91.	F. Lucaria Sisnero, W., Red stone, 7
	—92.	F. K'ünæ (Turquoise), W., Red stone, 6
	—93.	F. Tsets'a (Yellow clay), W., Red stone, 5
	—94.	M. Luis Sisnero, W., Red stone, d. aged 5 mos., 1923
, 1920	—95.	F. Rosarita Disett, 6
Disett, d. 1921	—96.	M. Tope (Clay prayer-feather), 5
	—97.	M. ———, 2
	—98.	M. ———, 1

4, 1922

, 1909

aged 4, 1920

er, d.
o, W., Badger, 2 mos.

1. M. Pedro Montoya, S., Badger, 70
+2. F. Oheña Cahete, S., —, 70
Santa Clara
5. M. Ingranacion Montoya, S., —, [70] — 29. — S., —, d.
+6. F. Filomen[a] Pobiwa, S., —, [60]
7. F. Pasqualita Montoya, S., —, d.
+8. M. — Abeita —
9. F. Romasita Montoya, S., —, d. 1910
aged 50
30. F. Reyes 'Beita, S., —, d.
+31. M. Sotero (Tello) Ortiz, W., —, [46]
61. M. José Ortiz, W., —, 28 [20]
62. F. Pasqualita Ortiz, W., —, [17]
63. F. Lafelita Ortiz, W., —, [12]
[Rafaelita]
64. M. [José Dolores] Ortiz, W., —, [10]
32. F. Eliza' Beita, S., —, [39]
+33. M. Juan Kavando, W., —, [48]
[Gabahdon]
65. F. — Kavando, W. —
66. M. — Kavando, W. —
67. F. Sencion Kavando, W. —
68. F. — Kavando, W. —
69. F. — Kavando, W. —
70. F. — Kavando, W. —
71. M. — Kavando, W. —
10. M. Demesio Montoya, S., —, 50 [55]
+11. F. T'a'pokwí (Elk lake) S., —, d.
+12. F. Brihira Montoya, S., —, [53]
[Brigida]
34. F. Manuelita Montoya, S., —, d.
+31. M. Sotero Ortiz, W., —, [46]
35. M. Luis Montoya, S., —, 20 [21]
13. M. Donasiano Montoya, S., —, [53]
[Donanciano]
+14. F. Manalita Dalachi, W., —, [49]
[Manuelita] [Talache]
36. M. Luka Montoya, S., —, 28 [21]
[Lucas]
37. M. Amadeo Montoya, S., —, 22 [17]
38. F. Felipa Montoya, S., —, 12 [11]
15. F. Nazarita Montoya, S., —, [d]
+16. M. Antonio Oyanki, S., —, [54]
[Oyenque]
39. M. Manuel Oyanki, S., —, 30 [32]
+40. F. Tsepowi S., —
41. F. Rosita Oyanki, S., —, d. 1920
42. M. Romas Oyanki, S., —, 9 [11]
[Rames]
72. F. — Oyanki, S., — d. in infancy
17. M. Juan Pomasino Montoya, S., —, 40 [46]
+18. F. Elisa Montoya, W-S., Red stone, 37 [39]
43. M. Oloxo Montoya, S., Red stone, d. 1922, aged 18
44. F. Santana Montoya, S., Red stone, 15
45. F. Maria Ohena Montoya, S., Red stone, d.
aged 1 year, 7 mos., 1919.
19. F. Socora Montoya, S., —, 32 [41]
+20. M. Juan Achelita, S., [47]
[Archulete]
46. M. José Sabel Achelita, S., —, 18 [17]
[Isabel]
21. M. Heronymo Montoya, S., —, [42]
[Geronimo]
+22. F. Leonore [Lopez] [34]
Mexican
47. F. Silvianita Montoya, S., —, 13
[Sylvanita]
48. F. Rebecca Montoya, S., —, 10 [11]
49. M. Antonio Montoya, S., —, 8 [9]
50. M. Santiago Montoya, S., —, 7
51. F. Elmidia Montoya, S., —, 6 [4]
[Delverdia]
52. M. José Waldo Montoya, S., —, 2 [1]
[Jesus Ubaldo]
23. F. Dolorita Montoya, S., —, [38]
+24. Alcayo Achileta, S., —, [50]
[Alcario]
53. M. Manuel Achelita, S., —, 18 [15]
54. F. Sicilia Achelita, S., —, 14
55. F. Candalaita Achelita, S., —, 10
56. F. — Achelita, S., —, 8
57. F. — Archelita, S., —, 6
58. F. Sicilia Archelita, S., —, 4
3. M. Juan San Domingo Montoya, S., Badger, d.
Brother of 1
+4. F. Lupita, —, d.
25. M. Nicola Montoya, S., —, [36]
[Nicholas]
+26. F. [Emilia] [41]
Mexican at Alcalde
27. M. José Montoya, S. —
[Nicodemio]
+28. F. Eda [Ada Kie]
Laguna
59. F. Margarita Montoya, S., —, [3]
60. M. — Montoya, S. —

Martinez, S., Red stone, 17
Martinez, S., Red stone, 15
Martinez, S., Red stone, 13
Martinez, S., Red stone, 11

ihil, S., Red stone, 15

1. F. Sipiana Peña, S., Red stone ———
+2. M. Juan José Peña, S., Grass

2a. F. Tonita Martinez, S., Red stone, d.
Celibate elder sister of 1

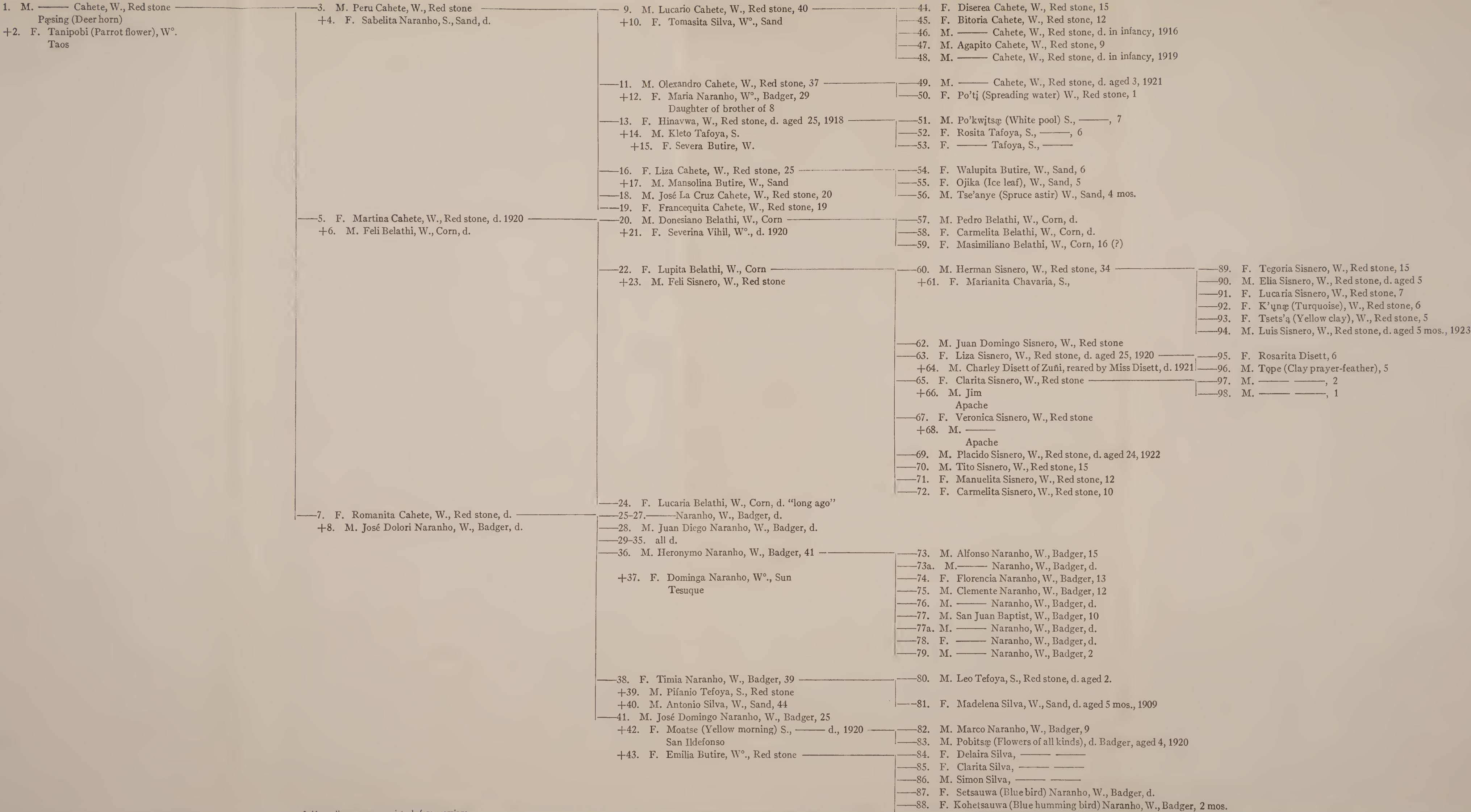
3. M. Bernardo Peña, S., Grass ———
Elder brother of 2

+4. F. Sepherina Sanchi, S., Sun

5. M. Antonio Peña, S., Grass ———
Younger brother of 2

+6. F. Juanita Peña, S., Grass

Genealogy III



° Above line = same moiety before marriage

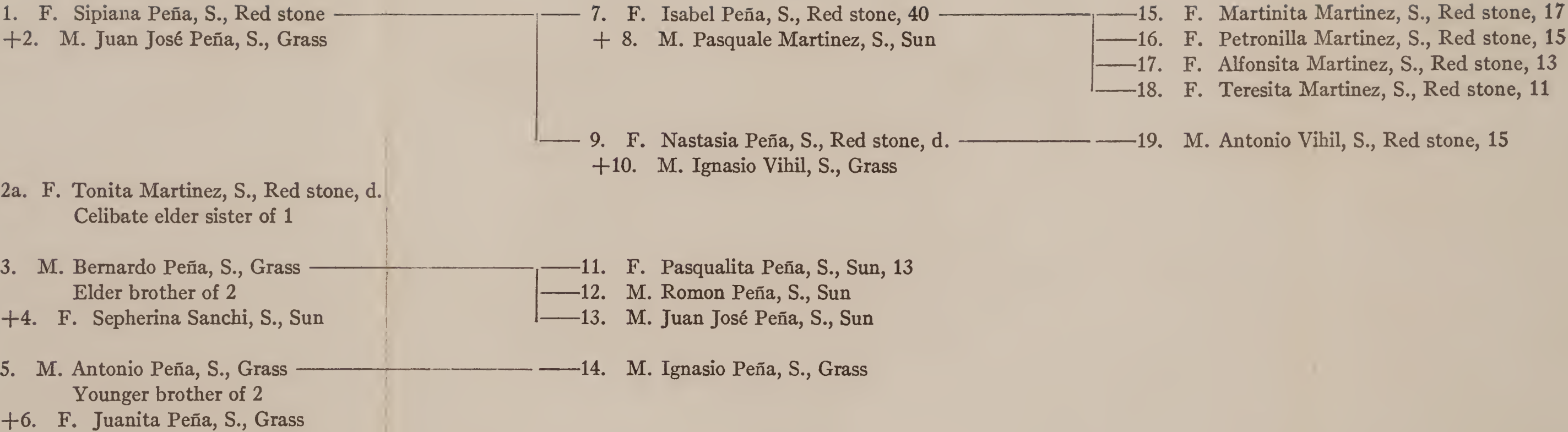
1. F. Dolorita, W., Red stone, d.,	5.
Nambé	+
+2. M.—Achelita, W., Mountain eagle, d.	

7.
+
9.
+

3. F. Dyiya pokwi, W., Mountain eagle, d.	11.
Mother lake. Sister of 2	
+4. M. Luis Cata, S., ——— d.	+1
Talui (Father Luis)	

+
+
+

Genealogy IV



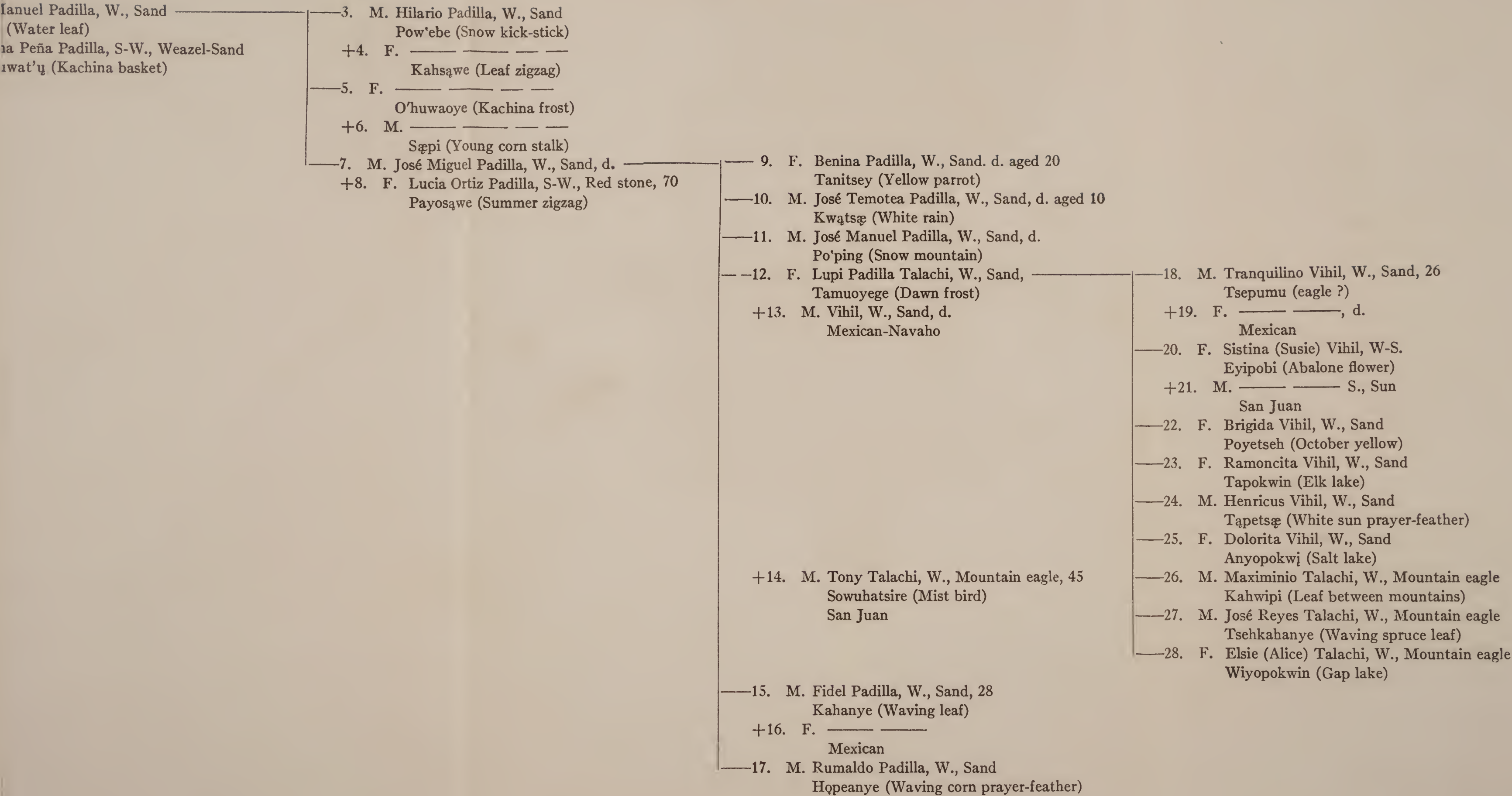
1. M. Pedro Montoya, S., Badger, 70

+2. F. Oheña Cahete, S., ———, 70
Santa Clara

3. M. Juan San Domingo Montoya, S., Badger, d.
Brother of 1

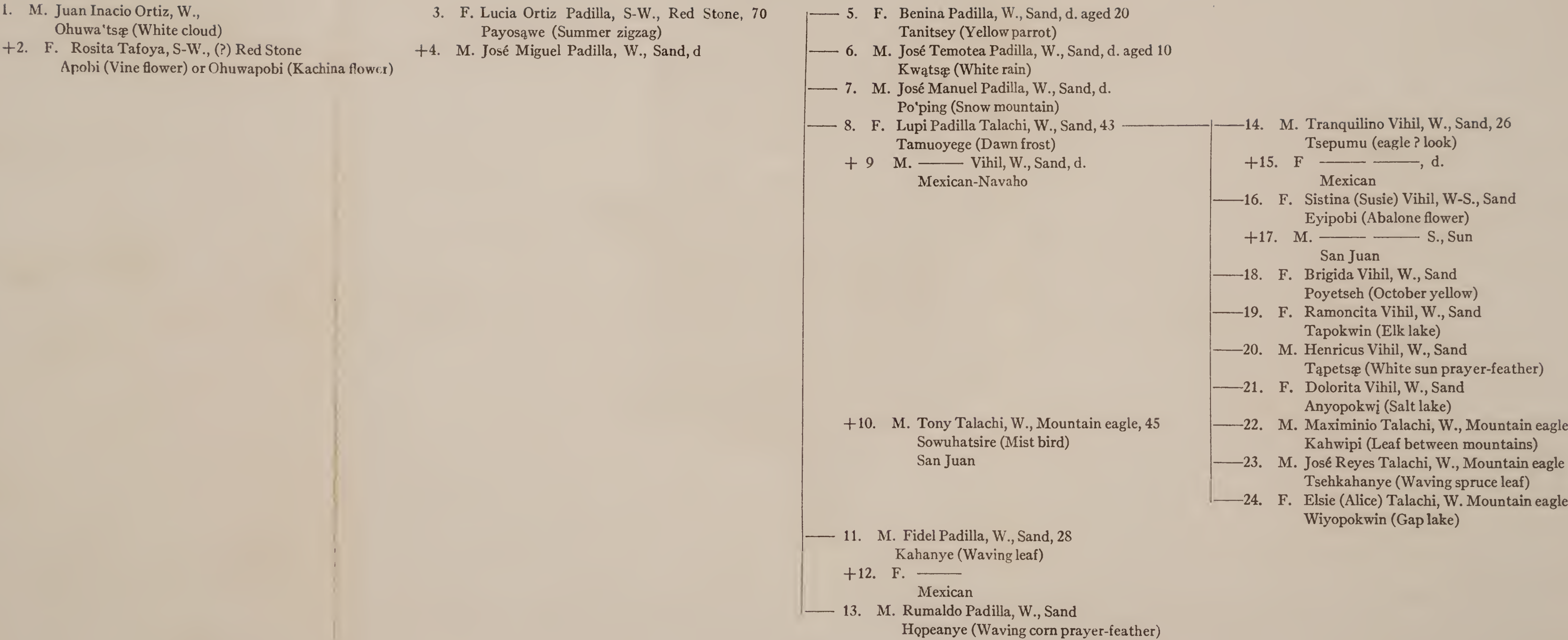
+4. F. Lupita, ——— ———, d.

Genealogy V



- 18. M. Tranquilino Vihil, W., Sand, 26
Tsepumu (eagle ?)
+19. F. ——— ———, d.
Mexican
—20. F. Sistina (Susie) Vihil, W-S.
Eyipobi (Abalone flower)
+21. M. ——— ——— S., Sun
San Juan
—22. F. Brigida Vihil, W., Sand
Poyetseh (October yellow)
—23. F. Ramoncita Vihil, W., Sand
Tapokwin (Elk lake)
—24. M. Henricus Vihil, W., Sand
Tapetsæ (White sun prayer-feather)
—25. F. Dolorita Vihil, W., Sand
Anyopokwĭ (Salt lake)
—26. M. Maximinio Talachi, W., Mountain eagle
Kahwipi (Leaf between mountains)
—27. M. José Reyes Talachi, W., Mountain eagle
Tsehkahanye (Waving spruce leaf)
—28. F. Elsie (Alice) Talachi, W., Mountain eagle
Wiyopokwin (Gap lake)

Genealogy VI



1. M. Juan Inacio Ortiz, W.,
Ohuwa'tsæ (White cloud)
- +2. F. Rosita Tafoya, S-W., (?) Red Stone
Apobi (Vine flower) or Ohuwapobi (Kac

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